

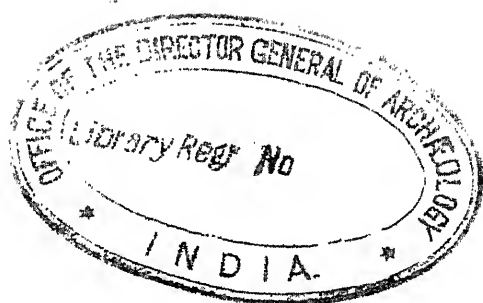
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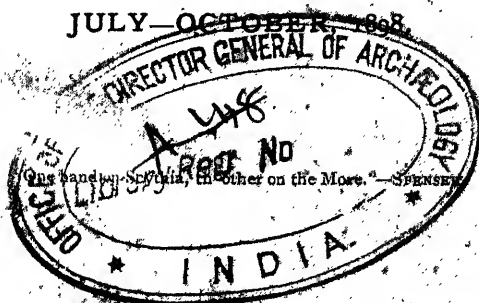
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THE IMPERIAL
AND
Asiatic Quarterly Review,
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1898.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT SUPREME IN
INDIA.*

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

THIS work by Sir Courtenay Ilbert, admirable in both design and execution, justifies the reputation and experience of the author. Long known as a Parliamentary draughtsman, Sir Courtenay Ilbert has acquired in India an intimate and practical acquaintance with the laws and constitution of that great dependency. The book will accordingly be valued as that of an expert by the lawyers and statesmen for whom it is compiled. It is an excellent digest of the statutes; but as we shall presently see, it is something more. The history and reasons are given, to explain the dry and condensed result of the enactments, so as to interest the layman as well as the jurist. In the third chapter we find the Digest, which, like the late Mr. Justice Stephen's similar work on the criminal law of England, is meant to be an aid to codification. If passed into law, it would repeal and supersede more than forty acts of Parliament, ranging over more than 120 years. Some of these have been duplicated or triplicated, but without express repeal: obscurity and confusion are thus caused; and we

* The Government of India, being a Digest of the Statute Law relating thereto, with Historical Introduction and Illustrative Documents. By Sir Courtenay Ilbert, K.C.S.I., Attorney-General and Parliamentary Counsel to the Treasury, sometime Law Secretary to the Government of India, and now Council of the Governor-General of India.

are told that the Government of India at every turn runs the risk of discovering that it has unwittingly transgressed one of the limits imposed on the exercise of its authority. It therefore proposed a consolidating act: but the matter was dropped in 1876. Sir C. Ilbert has in several ways taken much pains to make the existing tangle of law intelligible to outsiders. He has done for them the same sort of service that the civilian members of council at Calcutta did for his predecessor Mr. Justice Stephen, when the Criminal Procedure Code of 1872 was in the committee stage. That learned law-maker has recorded the ineffaceable impression produced on his mind by their wonderfully minute and exact acquaintance with every detail of the system. "They knew to a nicety the history, the origin and the object of every provision in the code which we were recasting. Such a section, they would say, represented such a regulation or such an act. It was passed in the time of such a Governor-General in order to provide for such and such a state of things, and we must be careful to preserve its effect. To be present at, and take part in these discussions was an education not only in the history of British India, but in the history of laws and institutions in general. I do not believe that one act of Parliament in fifty is considered with anything approaching to the care or discussed with anything approaching to the mastery of the subject with which Indian acts are considered and discussed." It may therefore be right of Parliament to remit consolidation to a more convenient season, following the adage, *quiescit non movere*. To touch the forty statutes would upraise a goodly number of unsettled questions of constitutional magnitude; and in an assembly whose members do not believe that "le mieux est toujours l'ennemi du bien," we are quite sure that many amendments would be pushed to division on any bill embodying merely sound statements of existing law. Already the load thrown upon Imperial Parliament is more than it can bear. Indian legislation would be thwarted by old difficulties as always delay purely Scottish legislation: the inevitable closures and the sleepless

exertions of the Whips in calling Members from the smoking-room would prove faulty devices. We think so much may be fairly inferred from the Historical Introduction which Sir C. Ilbert prefixes to his lucid Summary of Existing Law, the latter being a concise account of the great institutions by which India is governed, the Secretary of State and his advisers, the several governments and legislatures in India, the Civil Service, the High Courts, the Army, the official clergy and the native states which we control. In this Introduction the British authority in India is traced to a two-fold source. It is derived partly from the British Crown and Parliament by means of charters and acts, partly from the Great Mogul and other native rulers of India, through conquests, cessions, treaties and acquiescence. It begins in the double government by the Crown and the famous Company : it ends in the ~~avowed and~~ unique supremacy of the Queen Empress. The present municipal law grew up in a like manner. The early English adventurers brought with them the law of their origin. The first charter, dated 1600, gave leave to the Company to make laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances for their servants in the Orient, but the laws and punishments were to be reasonable, and not contrary to the laws, statutes or customs of the English realm. These powers granted by Queen Elizabeth were modelled on those under which our cities and corporations made their by-laws. They are similar to those which James I. conferred on the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. They are the type of the greater powers of government found in the later Indian charters : and although no copies of any of the earlier by-laws are known to exist, these provisions flowing from a pretended prerogative, a trading monopoly declared illegal in 1693, are of high interest "as the germ out of which the Anglo-Indian codes were ultimately developed." Much of the law of England was implanted in 1726 and at later dates under the Hanoverian dynasty by charters erecting Courts of Justice for the three Presidency Towns. After the grant to Clive, the

victor of Plassey, of the Diwani or fiscal administration of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the East India Company began to assume more and more the duties of Government, and thus the commercial agents of the Company, who had got used to the panoply of war, were forced to cultivate the arts of peace, to oversee the collection of the revenue and to require the Native Ruler and his officers to maintain something like good order by means of their police and Courts of Justice. These Europeans, shrewd enough at bargains in indigo, silk and salt, clever too in handling the cargoes from England, had to divert their minds to native institutions, laws and languages, so that as the century waned, they were gradually changed into that powerful body of covenanted civil servants who have ever since been the chief rulers of the Indian Empire. The mercantile traditions survived for a time; and even after the competitive examinations had superseded the Directors' patronage our young cadets found themselves dubbed in the lists as writers, while their seniors up to the highest positions were brigaded as factors, junior merchants and senior merchants. We believe that the status of senior merchant, reduced to ten years' service in India, is still the qualification for members of council in that country. Up till 1804 these servants of the Company might engage in trade on their own account; and though they often ended in insolvency, this mercantile career was more alluring than the poorly paid official positions, one reason being that pensions were then unknown.

Turning from Bengal to Bombay, we find the same state of things. I will refer for a moment to an unpublished minute written by the Hon. Francis Warden in 1824. He says: "On my entering the service in 1795, there was not a Judge or Collector on the establishment. We had, it is true, factories in abundance, at which Chiefs presided with their council as factors. The salaries to those descriptions of servants were small, but their emoluments were undefined and great. The best situations in the service were in point of emolument infinitely superior to the situation

of a member of council. The Resident at Anjengo declined the latter situation on that account. The receipts of the Chiefship of Surat aggregated Rs. 80,000 a year, and the Bombay Custom Master's were on the same standard." Yet although the Chiefs of the great factories and their factors were allowed to share in the Company's monopoly of trade, to the exclusion of interlopers, it seems that many failed, and the few who succeeded were men who started with capital, or were advanced by the favouritism at which a blow was struck by the Charter Act of 1793, which made promotion follow strict seniority, a bad system abolished in 1861. Mr. Warden delivered in a roll "descriptive of the destiny of the Civilians who were appointed from 1743 to 1777." It showed that between 1755 and 1777 only 3 had acquired fortunes: while of 75 on the list of 1755, 48 died in India, of whom only 8 did well. But 25 had died positive bankrupts, and the remaining 15 were about square with the world, or possessed little more than sufficient to defray their burial charges. Facts like these help us to understand the state of things for which Parliament enacted the Regulating Act of 1773. Even the Governors of Bombay were deeply immersed in trade. Let us see how Mr. Warden writes their epitaphs. Richard Bouchier served 23 years, during which time he held the government 9 years. He returned in 1760 and died insolvent. He had met with great losses in trade when in India. Charles Crommelin was Governor 7 years, served the Company 35 years, returned to England in 1767, had suffered greatly in trade, returned to India in 1772 as Free Merchant, and now resides in Canton. Thomas Hodges died in 1771, was Governor 5 years, served 35 years, possessed of a large fortune. Two others made their wealth by getting employed as super-cargoes in the country trade. Then we come to John Spencer, the great rival of Lord Clive, a stickler for receipt of presents and unholy gains, whom Clive suspended as the instigator of the mutiny of the Army over the monopoly of salt, betel-nut and tobacco, who was "deeper in the mire than the rest." Mr.

Warden tells us that this John Spencer enjoyed the most lucrative posts at Bombay, held the government of Bengal for some time, and died insolvent in 1766, a great trader. During these years the Company itself was more intent on commerce than on conquest, trying to shelter from more solemn responsibility under the empyrean sovereignty of the Great Mogul as a learned Judge phrased it, or to use Bishop Heber's language, by acting as the servant and Diwan of the house of Timur. Heber goes on to say that Warren Hastings in the height of his power and conquests gained infinite popularity by riding publicly through the city of Benares, as usual with the high functionaries of the court of Delhi, behind the howdah of the hereditary prince, with a fan of peacock's feathers in his hand. But when nowadays we encounter statements like these, we feel that we are treading among the ruins of time. About half a century ago, in dealing with Lord Ellenborough, Macaulay spoke of Great Britain as the paramount power, an apt foreshadowing of the ideas which at length induced Parliament in an Act of 1889 to adopt the word *suzerainty* for the older term *alliance* "as indicating more accurately the relation between the rulers of these (native) states and the British Crown." The Empire, so long swayed from Delhi, has vanished from the scene. The great Company that used to sit in Leadenhall Street, where its coat of arms still lingers, was dissolved in 1874. Its surviving monopolies of the China trade and the trade in tea were taken away, and its commercial career ended in 1833. The despised interloper has taken the place of the old Bengal Nabobs depicted in Macaulay's "Essay on Clive," and of the Bombay bankrupts whom the historian left out of account. For more than a century it has been a misdemeanour for a servant of the Indian Government to accept a present or engage in trade: and there is a law extant, due to the vehemence of Burke, which prohibits Europeans, by heavy penalties, from lending money to native princes. Time fails us to tell how all these changes came about. Sir C. Ilbert refers us to larger works: while

his own entertaining pages, lucid in dates and statements, may be likened to the Bayeux tapestry, as unfolding clearly the wars and disputes in India, the political debates and mercantile rivalries at home, which, with other striking events, were the incidents creating the present constitution and a new body of law for India.

The great influence of Parliament on the whole long process is very plainly displayed. We fear that this may shake the laudable pride of many Anglo-Indian officials, who are conscious of the high merits of their predecessors as makers of laws, which have stood the test of time. The philosopher Hobbes, in discussing free will, somewhere compares man to a spinning-top, which imputes its movement to its own force, ignorant of the string and hand by which it is set turning on its axis. Despite obvious limitations, we think we may compare British notions and sentiments to the hand, and Parliament to the string, in accounting for the strong and constant action of English law. That was the standard to which the earliest by-laws had to conform. The Foujdars, Munsiffs and Ameens were soon made to dispense the native laws in ways uncustomary to them, but familiar to a nation wedded to substantial justice and Magna Charta. Regulating Acts made the British servants responsible to English Courts as they are to this day, and this sharp bridle was quickly felt. As an early instance we may cite the trial in 1779 on criminal information of the Madras members of council who were each fined £1,000 for deposing the Governor, Lord Pigot. The House of Commons directed the Attorney General to prosecute, and the greatest lawyers of the time took part. The facts placed before an ordinary jury at Westminster Hall comprised the affairs of the Raja of Tanjore and the Nabob of Arcot, as well as the quarrels in the Council hall at Madras. The criminal deeds are laid at Madras and in India, to wit, Westminster in the county of Middlesex, and as against the form of the statute (the Regulating Act) and against the peace of our Lord the King, his crown and dignity. We know that Burke declaimed on the leniency

of the sentence of the King's Bench, while the historian Mill sardonically contrasts it with the swinging punishments awarded for mere seditious libels. But substantial justice was done, and the sound directions of Lord Mansfield on matters of law have often been followed. His doctrine about necessity is on all fours with that of the Indian Penal Code, found in the General Exceptions, which as Mr. Justice Stephen says, embody the law of England. That splendid work, he tells us elsewhere, is almost entirely a new version of the English law, "freed from all technicalities and superfluities, systematically arranged and modified in some few particulars (they are surprisingly few) to suit the circumstances of British India." Its novelty lies in its entirely new method of legislative expression. Sir C. Ilbert notes that the law of contract and of torts is with few exceptions based wholly on English principles. The equity jurisprudence, which has for many years been part of the *lex fori*, is avowedly that of our Lord High Chancellors. Following the Anglo-Indian tendency, the rules about trusts, mortgages and even specific reliefs have been codified into Indian statutes. No slur is cast on the achievements of English barristers like Macaulay or Peacock or Stephen in cordially recognising that the Civilian statesmen, who originated the plan of making codes, were far in advance of their time. Men of vigorous action, like Napoleon and Warren Hastings, love simplicity; they are usually gifted with foresight and caution as well. It is to Hastings that we trace the well settled and politic principle that the Hindus and Mussalmans are to be governed by their own religious laws in suits about marriage, inheritance, caste and religion. The Indian Civilians thus established a second great element in the Corpus Juris. This has since enclosed the so-called Buddhist law of Burma; while at their own desire the Jews of Aden have been allowed to keep the rules of the Pentateuch about inheritance.

In the year 1771 the Court of Directors announced their intention of standing forth as Diwan; in other words, of really governing Bengal. During the next year Hastings had

his plan ready for erecting and controlling Courts of Justice : with Sir Elijah Impey's aid, he soon compiled a code ; and in 1773 Parliament enacted the principle declared by Hastings, and in his very words. It commends itself to English lawyers who know that our common law gives effect to custom, e.g., that custom is the life of copyhold. It has abundant precedent in the law of Rome. Bacon in his wary statecraft warns princes not to meddle with the commons on the point of religion or their customs. One of the ancient Hindu sages lays down that such meddling is followed by sedition and injury to the revenue treasury. The earlier codes were made easier by leaving out so much of native institutions : while these were gradually amended to suit the new rule, especially the general Mahomedan law of crimes, imported by the Moguls.

As time went on, the influence of Bentham, more widely spread after the Reform Act of 1832, began to be felt in Indian affairs by thoughtful men like James Mill. It has been continued ever since, the Civil Service Commissioners having made Bentham's "Treatise on Legislation" a text-book to be studied by the young Indian civilians on the threshold of their career. It entered early into the open mind of Mountstuart Elphinstone, who settled the newly-conquered Deccan, and some years later enacted a code for the Bombay Presidency, following the example and avoiding the mistakes of Lord Cornwallis in Bengal. Now we learn from Mill what the radical mistake was, to wit, "the almost exclusive agency of European functionaries in the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the assignment to them of an amount of labour, which no activity or intelligence could overtake ; and which with the increase of property and population, was still further exceeding the means of execution." This clogging of all the wheels is in my experience a danger which always recurs. There is no hope of enlisting in the Civil Service a big batch of Siamese twins, each of two men. Yet se | ead and equal to the work
partment | res are urgently needed in
retiring from Bombay, Lord

Harris took as a typical case his Legal Remembrancer, whose health has since broken down. His work of drafting Bills was enough for one man : his other work of giving legal opinions would fully occupy another. Mr. Elphinstone foresaw these tendencies early in this century ; and avoided them for two generations by making over larger jurisdictions to native officers. His Bombay Regulations contain the first Penal Code ever compiled in India. They also provided for land revenue and all which that term means, saved the ryots from the exactions of middlemen, adopted the registration of sales and mortgages, enforced a cheap system of justice, brought prisons under control and avoided the delays and cruelties which were still tolerated at home. Similar laws were passed in Madras. It may here be remarked, to the credit of the East India Company, that it never stooped to enact Test Acts or religious disabilities, such as lasted so long in Great Britain and were transplanted to New England. While the Inquisition flourished in Goa, and intolerant Spain and Portugal lost their empires beyond the seas, we encouraged the Paynim and the Gentoo to enter our service. Native Christians of the Roman and Nestorian communions rose to honour, and native Jews became excellent officers in our armies. The fire-worshipping Parsees settling in the island of Bombay have become a wealthy nation ; and to a large extent have themselves suggested those special laws which safeguard their family life and secure their property.

Perhaps I may be excused for suggesting that Scotsmen, like Elphinstone, Munro and Malcolm, must have contrasted the splendid legislation of the Scottish Parliament before the Union with the poverty of results after that event, when for a whole century all reform was stopped by the conservative prejudices of the English and Irish members. If we compare Sir A. Alison's detailed statement with the titles of Elphinstone's very simple and successful code, we see an Indian reflection of Scottish progress in strong contrast to the unreformed laws of the southern kingdom.

Elphinstone, who knew the natives well, had also found out that local usage was often at variance with the Koran and the Shasters; and by giving priority to usage over these writings, he made a great improvement on the model law of Hastings.

Seeing that the local codes worked so well, it is not easy to approve the love of symmetry which abolished the right of the local governments to legislate, by the Charter Act of 1833. This useful power had to be again conferred in 1861; and the functions of local Parliaments have since been enlarged; while new provinces like the Punjab, the North-West and Burma have been endowed with legislatures. The Supreme Government must have been unfairly burdened during the intervening years of wars, convulsions, and disasters; and thus the passing of the Indian Penal Code was delayed for nearly a generation. The natives were yearly becoming more fit for a share in public affairs; and this fitness is daily more acknowledged at home as the democracy grows more powerful. The right of the non-official members to put questions to the Indian Governments is, we think, certain to be extended when the Parliamentary Statutes are re-cast. Interpellation gives some slight vocal utterance to local grievances, none the less dangerous because often obscure. It is still more valuable since writing and the press have come under a heavier law against sedition, especially as the highest authorities now admit with despair that their hard office work cuts off the Indian civilians from enough contact with the people. To keep abreast with the six days' work, not a few deprive themselves of the blissful rest of the Lord's Day, so absolutely needed by such men in the care and wear of India. We know a Chief Secretary who in his working day of ten hours finds only ten minutes to glance at a newspaper. An inconvenient question may often save the waste of public energy and public money. Such a device as interpellation have checked the policy in which the old Bank of

valuable in stopping public scandals, like the military "pickle-jar" case, or futile prosecutions costing lacs of rupees like the Crawford trial. But as the natives know best where our official shoes pinch them, its paramount merit lies in the easy ventilation of grievances, mistakes and injustice. It is a fitting pendant to trial by jury.

The seventh chapter of the book under our notice is a succinct treatise on British jurisdiction in native states. Herein Sir C. Ilbert has succeeded in making highly technical topics plain to the ordinary mind. Our own statutes about treason, murder, slavery and enlistment are passed under review, as well as the decisions in extra-territorial cases; and the treatment of Western foreigners in Oriental States is described historically. In dealing with the Protectorates and spheres of influence under recent African Orders in Council, the author faces several knotty questions with the learning and caution of a jurist. Some of these have lately come before the High Court of Bombay in its control over the tribunals in Zanzibar, Uganda and Unyoro, and might well have been cited in this work, as they partly confirm the author's views given in p. 431, *et seq.* The Judges distinguish sphere of influence from both protectorate and dominion. "It may be that the restrictions of jurisdiction have been ordained in order not to offend the susceptibilities of other Powers, or in order not to burden the Queen's administrative and judicial services with cases arising in regions merely in a sphere of influence, where as yet the word 'allegiance' has hardly been heard, and where the Queen has not solemnly declared her prerogative of protection." We quote from the report.

Turning back to the Digest, the monumental part of the work, we notice the aim of the writer "to state in language appropriate to the present day what is conceived to be the net effect of the enactments scattered through several Acts." The judicial interpretations are set forth as in Forsyth's Constitutional Law; and similar references are made to the great debates in Parliament from which the Queen's

Ministers take their precedents. Sir C. Ilbert has thus enabled politicians and lawyers to see at a glance, on most important matters, how the law stands and when and why it was made, an advantage similar to codification. But we rise from a perusal of the Digest with a feeling that many old provisions, hardly suitable even in bygone times, are fitter for repeal than for re-enactment nowadays, when telegraphs and steamers bring India close to us. At any rate many Members of the House of Commons would take that view of several antediluvian sections, out of harmony with our present constitution. Those Members would be strongly supported by native feeling, a force that must be reckoned with, in such matters as the independence of the Bench, the purity of justice and the abolition of autocratic powers. The surprise, which the despotic clauses cause in the modern mind, partly arises from the little space given to what has always counterbalanced them. I mean the English law as it stood in 1726, the appeal to the Privy Council, the royal prerogatives which exist for the good of the people, and, what the Viceroy in Council is forbidden to touch, the authority of Parliament, and the unwritten laws and constitution of the United Kingdom. These things have been construed as interposing between the Executive and the people such great statutes as Magna Charta and the Petition of Right, wholesome barriers against arbitrary caprice. It is on such doctrine that the long imprisonment by Lord Sandhurst of the brothers Nattu, without charge or trial, has been assailed. We think these matters have been too slightly overpassed by our learned code-maker in his recitals of anomalous powers conferred a century ago to settle suicidal enmities among great personages in India. It seems that the power given at the instance of Lord Cornwallis, whereby the Governor-General can over-ride his council, was suggested by the quarrels Warren Hastings had with his colleagues, ending in his shooting Sir Philip Francis through the body. There may possibly be reasons for retaining this autocracy, although the age of duels is past ;

but none at all for extending it afresh to peaceable local Governors. A final settlement seems desirable of the questions about employing the Indian regiments in Europe and Africa, and about charging the pay of forces so employed to the revenues of India.* It may even be mooted that the expenses of frontier wars, undertaken to counteract Russian or French influence, should be divided between the Indian and Imperial Exchequers. Strong objection will be urged by those who value the Act of Settlement to letting the tenure of Indian Judgeships depend any longer on the mere pleasure of the Crown, especially since Lord Lytton was supported in the Fuller case, in the view that the Government has a right to influence or censure Judges, whom they can so easily get rid of. We regret that Sir C. Ilbert does not mention that case, nor the debates in Hansard on a later pretension of a local Governor to retain in judicial office a host of corrupt men. Surely when they have used no improper means to obtain their places, the Judges ought to keep them during good-behaviour. Again, what can be said in defence of an old law of 1781, which enables a Judge of a High Court to justify any iniquity he may commit in a civil or criminal case, by pleading a mere order in writing from the Governor-General in Council? Sir C. Ilbert does not class these monstrosities as obsolete. But all his history and notes bring out most clearly that the British-Indian constitution, as it stands to-day, is the creation of the House of Commons, evolved from the period of Pitt, Fox and Burke, out of party fights, clashing divisions and furious faction. It would then be desirable and quite in accord with all our precedents for new discussions to be waged if ever the Digest were moulded into a Bill. The laws ought to change with the changing times. Already

* See Sir James Mackintosh's Bombay Diary, February 26, 1811. "Malcolm brought Elphinstone to breakfast. We had an animated discussion about the importance of India to England." Mackintosh thought India ranked below North America and the West Indies, because "nobody thinks of employing seapoys out of India. Great as it looks and sounds, it does not add so much to the Empire as New England did."

objections are taken in the organ of the Indian Congress to the payment of the Ecclesiastical establishment out of the Indian taxpayers' money. From many quarters the desire is expressed that the local governments should be brought more under ready control, not alone as to wasteful expenditure, but also to secure a policy based on deeper sympathy with the Indian peoples, and fuller knowledge of their languages, their customs, and their feelings. Men without any experience of these things are exalted to high places for short terms, while the older servants, on whose advice they depend, are held so tight to the grindstone of office work as to lose their touch with the world of natives. The traditions of Parliament will prevent that august body ever loosening its grasp over a vast continent for which it has done so much ; and we would welcome a strong Indian phalanx in the House of Commons, well-informed like the Scottish party. But for safeguarding the policy which enjoins caution and respect for the wishes of fellow-subjects so different to ourselves, the local legislatures have become essential. To them much of the Digest is devoted ; and one of the lessons of this valuable book we take to be that future developments of the Indian constitution will be in the direction of enlarging their powers.

In the interval, and especially as the native press has just been brought under severer criminal laws, I would venture to suggest that the non-official members should be treated as informal counsellors. It seems that Parliament has not legislated for the press ; and so Sir C. Ilbert leaves that topic out of his Digest. But in unearthing (pp. 492-532) a long despatch of 1834 from the Court of Directors, he has, I think, done the State some service in this present year of grace. The Directors were afraid of "rash and thoughtless legislation," the result of passing emotion, or official cliques, or ignorance of the people. They wrote to the Government in an elevated strain. "The whole civil and military government of India is in your hands, and for what is go il in the administration of it, the honour

or dishonour will redound upon you." Again, "when the discussion is confined to the seclusion of a chamber, it is only the determined prudence of those that are concerned that can guard against the hazard of precipitance." Allusion is made to the "eagerness of some temporary advantage, the consciousness of power, the pride of a fancied superiority of race, the absence of any adequate check from public opinion." To avoid disasters, the authorities were told not to pass laws in a hurry, but to appoint fixed stages as in Parliament, so that ample discussion might occur at every stage, and the same publicity be secured as in England, with its wholesome conflicts of opinion. "Care above all things should be taken not to make casual misconduct the occasion of harsh legislation. To put down abuse even by a strong act of authority were better than to give it importance and in some sense perpetuity by founding on it, when it takes place, a severe and indiscriminating law." The statesmen of those days had thought much over the revolutions in France, and had witnessed the failure of the Austrians in Lombardy and the Bourbons in Naples to smother the mutterings of Italian opinion. To let sleeping dogs lie is a good rule of conduct. I am impressed by the remarks of Sir James Mackintosh in 1810 on Napoleon's new criminal code. State crimes filled about four-tenths of the whole, and yet vague generalities were added, to catch the most innocent actions, especially in describing political libel. The new Indian law is more carefully drafted; but in such matters all experience shows, from the time of the Seven Bishops to the Zola trial, that Ministers should be chary of putting such laws in force. Libel is like heresy, too much an affair of opinion; and the divine who is prosecuted in one decade becomes a Prelate in the next. The sage cautions of the Directors are salutary to-day, since the over-pressure of work cuts off the higher officials from literature. They grow absorbed in their duties, even sometimes to the pitch of excitement. In recent years this strain on the mind has led to several rash and ill prosecutions, culminating in long and scandalous

State Trials, ending in acquittals, and sometimes in the unparliamentary practice of official attacks on the Judges. A ruler, heart and soul devoted to his work, despises Talleyrand's maxim, *point de zèle*. One always feels a sneaking sympathy with the prophet Jonah, who, angry because Nineveh was spared, disconsolate when the sinners were let off, made him a booth and sat under it in the shadow till he might see what would become of the city. The earlier governors avoided these vexations by two expedients. They knew the languages and could at any time leave the desk and plunge into familiar intercourse with the natives. The greater men, whose spirits still sway us, were often scholars and nearly always literary. Take Warren Hastings, skilled in Persian and Arabic, and gifted with a pen that Sir Philip Francis acknowledged to be stronger than his own. A few hours after the hanging of Nuncomar, "the conqueror in that deadly grapple sat down with characteristic self-possession to write about the Tour to the Hebrides, Jones's Persian Grammar, and the history, traditions, arts and natural productions of India." In his lighter moments he would throw off an Indian rendering of some ode of Horace. Sir John Malcolm took high rank as a historian; and when John Leyden was his guest, was quite equal to capping verses. He translated many Persian manuscripts, and delighted Sir Walter Scott by reciting Ferdusi. Of the profound Elphinstone, statesman, soldier, sportsman, linguist, historian, I need only mention the name. The Marquis Wellesley beguiled his strenuous labour with writing Latin poetry. Sir James Mackintosh's Diary shows how men like these often met like a Society of Authors. To all of them the laudation, *mens aqua in arduis*, is due; and our surprise that they have few successors in these less arduous times may I hope be tempered by the excuse here pleaded, namely, the increase of grinding work. But this excuse does not lessen the hardship of the labourer or the discredit of the Government when the

only set in motion.

Lord

aved sympathy in

Times newspaper, because of the acquittal of a Pindarie poet in 1893 by the High Court. He had got this man convicted by a magistrate on the ground that the string of psalms and odes contained a line or two of sedition. It would be out of place to discuss here the solemn judgment of appeal, in which that learned Brahman Mr. Justice Ranade concurred with me in setting the poet free. But I think Lord Harris may well feel sore at the ignorance of the Gujerathi tongue shown by his advisers. Unconversant with that language himself, he surely might, by friendly intercourse with scholarly natives, have got a perfect translation. The prosecution believed that some lines lauding the Hindus for beating off a crowd of murderers were a praise of them for attacking a regiment called out and under arms to preserve order. Lord Harris had no literary witness; and the person who smelt the sedition was a European policeman. But these psalms were in high-flown poetical Gujerathi; and when it was admitted for the Governor that a bad translation had been put before the European Magistrate, the case broke down. The words "Ye broke through the files of rifles" were not to be found in the vernacular. Lord Harris as a layman and a prosecutor still thinks the law of sedition applied to this case, whereas writing now merely as a publicist, I would treat it as just one of those to which the various cautions of the Court of Directors would apply. To my mind it proves that the time wasted on such infliction of the penal law would be better spent with a good pundit in the study of the native languages, or in consultation with a professor of poetry, a native headman, or even those private persons of whose personal weight and influence the Directors make mention. The poems by the by are fine and vigorous, and will repay a literary perusal of the case in the *Indian Law Reports*, 18 Bombay, 758. Lord Harris feels that this unsuccessful resort to law lowers our prestige. He writes—"It is most
 1. This decision discouraged Government from

prosecuting the authors of what Government might regard as inflammatory publications, except upon the most confident opinion of their legal advisers." The Government of India now say they welcome such cautious behaviour on the part of local authorities, to prevent the new law becoming oppressive. I fear however that each new Governor will, like Lord Harris, only learn this wisdom in the school of experience.

While a retired Governor stands in waiting, as it were, to put Pegasus in the pound, I would in some alarm raise the point, whether the Indian law of sedition would not be better moulded at St. Stephens. The echoes of old trials, lingering in Westminster Hall, awaken prudence. There would be less hurry, there could be no panic; and with the stately Abbey and its Poets' Corner so near, a tender and abiding respect for the higher forms of literature would make itself felt. A Pindaric poet would not be treated like a Pindaree robber. It is long since Milton and Addison were in jeopardy from censors; and inconceivable that Byron, and Southey, and Shelley and Leigh Hunt would be brought into Courts of Justice now, among the Tears of the Muses. It was the poet Spenser who called on Peers to stand forth as protectors of literature,

"Or, rather learn'd themselves behoves to be,
This is the girland of nobility."

Lord Elgin ought never to forget what Master John Barbour did for Robert Bruce, what Blind Harry did for Wallace. I have known the Indian ballad singer do the same service to the memory of gentle officers long passed away; and I would fain plead with any Indian Governor for the liberty of the poet in the mighty lines of Milton:—

"He can spread thy name o'er lands and seas,
Whatever climes the sun's bright circle warms.
Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower;
The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
Th' house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
To the ground; and the repeated air
power
in ruin bare."

DARWINISM AND SIR HENRY MAINE.

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA.

BY AN EVOLUTIONIST.

IN the course of a discussion on the Indian work of Sir Henry Maine, which took place last March at the Society of Arts, Sir Courtenay Ilbert said that what Maine did in the domain of legal and political science would bear comparison with what Charles Darwin did in the domain of natural science. He added: "Just as to the student of Darwin the commonest wayside flower was something more than a yellow primrose, and suggested by its structure and mode of life relations to the whole animated world, so to the student of Sir Henry Maine the most ordinary phenomena of Indian social life were brought into organic relation with the world-wide evolution of legal and institutional ideas." It is very true that both Maine and Darwin applied the principle of evolution, the one to organic forms, the other to the institutions of mankind. But the revolution in thought which has been effected in our day is, of course, due very much more largely to Darwin than to Maine. The whole educated world by this time knows something of Darwinism; Maine also is widely known, but rather to specialists in jurisprudence and sociology than to the general reading public. He made an epoch in the history of English jurisprudence, but not in the history of European thought.

How much did Maine owe to Darwin? Was it the study of Darwin that suggested to Maine that legal and social institutions cannot escape from the great law of evolution? The reply seems to be in the negative. At the end of the fifties, doctrines of evolution were already in the air; and Maine appears to have arrived, without any assistance from Darwin, at the conclusion that legal evolution could be established by the comparative method—a method which

he learnt rather from the philologists than from the biologists. But the novelty in Darwinism is not by any means the assertion of evolution as a fact—an assertion which, with sufficient explanations, might be described as older than Lucretius. The new thing was the reasoned exposition of the means by which in organic life evolution is effected. The essence of Darwinism is the doctrine of natural selection. Maine laid the foundations of the whole of his work without reference to that doctrine, and possibly in ignorance of it. It seems worth while to substantiate this remark, because later on Maine grasped that doctrine strongly, and applied it with much force and effect.

Maine laid his foundations in his work on *Ancient Law*. That book was published in 1861, and the *Origin of Species* was published in 1859. But Maine's book was the outcome of lectures which he had been giving for about eight years as reader in Roman Law and Jurisprudence at the Middle Temple, and he had probably formed his conclusions before the *Origin of Species* appeared. So far as internal evidence goes, it seems clear that Maine, when he published *Ancient Law*, had neither recognised natural selection as a factor in human progress, nor had perceived the quickening and widely-spreading ferment with which Darwinism was about to imbue modern thought. Doubtless Maine already saw that the principles of evolution are applicable to human affairs; indeed, a great part of what he then wrote was a discussion of legal evolution. But at the time he missed the principle of natural selection, though once or twice he seemed to be making straight for it, and almost had it in his grasp. He said, for instance, that the primitive usages of a particular community "are generally those which are on the whole best suited to promote its physical and moral well-being." He pointed out that Montesquieu seemed to have looked on the nature of man as entirely plastic, and to have paid little or no regard to the inherited qualities of the race. And he suggested that the Romans were led to devise means for adjusting the rights and

duties of foreigners "by the mere instinct of self-preservation." But in none of these passages did he go on to ask the pregnant questions why and how it was that the institutions of mankind were adapted to their environments. Probably, if he had then touched these questions, he would have said, as he said of the motives which originally induced men to hold together in families, that jurisprudence, unassisted by other sciences, was not competent to give a reply.

Elsewhere, too, he was on the very verge of touching the questions in point. He referred to Bentham's suggestion that "societies modify, and have always modified, their laws according to modifications of their views of general expediency." But he contented himself with stigmatizing this proposition as unfruitful and verbal, because expediency is merely a name for the impulse which prompts the modification, and is therefore implied in the change. He did not attempt to consider what primitive practices may have been adopted, as it were, instinctively, and continued and strengthened because they conferred on the primitive group some advantage in the struggle for life with other human groups, with wild animals, and with inanimate nature.

Still more interesting, as illustrating the change in mental climate which has occurred since 1861, is his discussion of the manner in which the *jus gentium* might be regarded by the modern world. We are not here concerned with the learned criticism that the *jus gentium* may have included some rules of conduct as between states or independent tribes. We have only to take Maine's definition of it—a collection of rules and principles common to the institutions of the old Italian tribes. Having given this definition, he suggests the question how at the present day we should look on such a body of law if we were administering it. He thinks we might have "a sort of respect for rules and principles so universal"; or describe the common ingredients, as of the essence of the transactions into which they entered; or interpret the situation in terms of race, supposing that

the tribes had all obeyed a great system of common institutions, of which the *jus gentium* was the reproduction. It is possible that the last interpretation might still have votaries; but they would probably be regarded as old-fashioned scholars, who had not brought their equipment up to date. A more modern view would be to regard the common ingredients as so much material primarily for comparative jurisprudence, secondarily for comparative sociology. We should endeavour to classify the tribal practices with those of other known, and especially of contemporary, tribal societies; to fix the stage of tribal development in the particular communities; and to determine the bearing of the evidence on current theories of social and legal evolution. But if this is a plausible guess at our present position, doubtless we have been brought to that position chiefly by Darwin and Maine.

Later on, Maine himself set an example of applying the principle of natural selection in sociology. In the first book he published after his return from India, *Village Communities in the East and West*, he spoke of the natural aristocracy of certain parts of India as an aristocracy formed "by what amounts to the sternest process of natural selection"; and he attributed the admission of strangers into primitive groups to the urgency of the struggle for existence—the value of the new labour condoning its foreign origin. Twelve years afterwards, when he was, by the facts adduced by McLennan and Morgan, forced to reconsider and restate the patriarchal theory, he quoted the opinion of Darwin that, in a state of nature, promiscuity as between the sexes is extremely improbable, and argued in the Darwinian style that such a practice would possibly lead to the extinction or dangerous weakening of the societies concerned. Indeed, the greater part of his argument in reply to McLennan was conducted on Darwinian lines, as when, admitting that scarcity of women would probably result in tracing kinship through female descents, he contended that the inequality of the sexes would, as a rule, be

temporary, because tribes with fewer women than men would be at a disadvantage by reason of their infecundity ; or where, in suggesting a possible explanation of exogamy, he remarked that if children born of closely related parents are really weakly "the fact would be forced on notice by the stern process of natural selection, affecting either the individual or the tribe."

Whatever we may think of the results so far obtained by regarding the customs of savage tribes as variations qualifying or disqualifying the tribe for success in the struggle for existence, the line of argument itself seems a perfectly legitimate one. When man had most of the animal in him, it is reasonable to call on biological research to aid our inferences about his conduct. The comparative method may accept the Darwinian method as an ally. As a general rule, the further we ascend the stream of time, the scantier is the evidence ; and as sociology advances, it will probably look more than it has done as yet to the principle of natural selection as likely to throw light on the development of institutions in prehistoric times. Whether the same principle can be applied in historic times is a separate question. At any rate it is satisfactory to be able to claim Maine,—though rather *malgré lui*, for he entered the controversy with McLennan very reluctantly,—as a pioneer in this method of investigation.

If, then, we admit that where history fails us and the results of the comparison of contemporary societies of an archaic type are obscure, we may properly have recourse to the doctrine of natural selection, what is the legitimate function of that doctrine in sociological inquiries, and in what way in those inquiries will it be of use? These questions can best be answered by examples. We may take, for instance, the common and obvious case of the tribe. We need not suppose that all mankind have passed through a tribal stage of society,—a stage in which the principle of cohesion is not local contiguity or contract or nationality, but the fact, or fiction operating as if it were a

fact, of common descent. It is sufficient to point out that the range of the tribe thus understood is enormous; and that in the case of an institution common to so large a proportion of mankind, we ought to possess some reasonable theory of its origin. The question why human beings began to hold together in tribes is on the same plane with the question which Maine put aside as beyond the ken of jurisprudence—why they began to hold together in families. The early progenitors of the human race who paired long enough for their offspring to become self-supporting, had an obvious advantage in the struggle for life; the jealousy of the male probably quickened and strengthened his habit of protection, and from that habit both mother and young derived a better chance of continuing the race. But where combination was advantageous in resisting the attacks of other men or of the larger carnivora, or for the purpose of hunting big game, families might hold together till there were three or more generations to co-operate with each other, and in this way might be formed the germ of a tribe. Once combination became an advantage, the larger groups would drive off or kill out the smaller ones, or cause them to perish by lessening their means of life; the scattered families which survived would fly to the remoter wilds and woods; and the better hunting grounds, or, later on, the pastures and arable lands, would remain in the possession of compact tribal communities. Such, at least, is a process which the doctrine of natural selection suggests. Can it be verified? Can we find in history or amongst savage peoples of our own time the predominance of the tribe and relegation of scattered families, paired and living in animal fashion, to the backwoods or wild hills? If so, the doctrine has supplied us with a working hypothesis which may have fruitful results. If family or tribal cohesion is an advantage in the struggle for life to these groups which adopt it, then we can see why it is that we find family or tribe, or traces of them, in most archaic societies, either historically understood or now open to view.

Take again another widely prevalent institution, one so often found that Maine said of it that when you were enumerating the societies exhibiting it, the difficulty was to know where to stop. Can the prevalence of the agnatic system of kinship, that is, of the system of reckoning kinship through male descents exclusively, be explained on the principle of natural selection? Very possibly it might be, if the evidence were examined anew from the point of view of Darwinism. We must necessarily presuppose certainty as to male parentage. That allowed, it is plain that a tribe adopting the agnatic system would thereby acquire several striking advantages. War being normal—the chronic contest of group with group being part of the struggle for existence—agnatic kinship might be used to establish peace within the tribe. The agnates being known and entitled to their shares according to their places in the tribal genealogy, we have at a stroke a system of law within the capacity of savage men. Property, whether the inheritance from the dead or booty acquired in plundering expeditions, be it goods, cattle or lands, can, by the application of this system, be distributed peaceably. The tribe, free from internal dissensions, will face its enemies with greater strength. The agnatic clan, moreover, is a good fighting body; because it has in itself a principle of organization, the families with their several heads each forming, as it were, companies with their commanders. And it has in itself the germs of political growth; of a representative system, if the heads of families meet in conclave to discuss tribal questions; of kingly power, if there is some particular family from whom the leader in war is usually selected. Now a tribe which evolves a system of law and some form of political organization ought to do better in the struggle between group and group than tribes which have neither the one thing nor the other. The agnatic system conduces to the evolution of both of these things because it traces with singular clearness and precision the outlines of the family and the more

widely ramifying tie of the blood. But what are the facts? Can we find that tribes agnatically organized have driven away or enslaved or exterminated tribes possessed of inferior systems of relationship or of no systems of relationship at all? It is no part of the present purpose to suggest a reply. The method under illustration suggests the question; and it is in truth the recommendation of the method that it does suggest questions of this class.

In the pages of this Review it may be proper to add that there are various Indian lines of legal or sociological inquiry which may be examined anew with the aid of the doctrine of natural selection. May not the famous Indian village community itself be an illustration of the survival of the fittest? Certainly the village communities nowhere better deserve their name than in some parts of the country where the land has long ceased to be held within a ring-fence by compact tribes, and where for about a century and a half before British rule anarchy had been substituted for settled government. The principle of village cohesion amid the track of invading armies supplied just the amount of protection which made occasional agriculture possible, especially if it was supplemented by a share in the pillage which it was the general object to amass. On the other hand, in some places where there are no village communities, where there are scattered habitations in the fields and severalty is fully established, we find that the protection, which alone in the troubled days of chronic warfare makes existence possible, is supplied in some other way,—perhaps by the whole country-side being in the occupation of one and the same tribe, or perhaps by the effective establishment of some small principality. If, again, we look to the origin of States or principalities in India, we shall see that they have frequently arisen out of the struggle for existence in one of its fiercest and most repulsive forms. Many Indian States have sprung out of simple brigandage. The successful freebooter has ripened into the chief, or the chief seizing without the

slightest justification his neighbour's taxes or lands, has been not the least bit better than a freebooter. Now the seizure of prey without the slightest touch of mercy or morality is a part of the process of natural selection at large.

Enough illustrations have now been given to supply some answer to the questions from which we set out. The real use of the doctrine of natural selection in legal and social archæology is to suggest reasonable hypotheses for the explanation of wide-spread phenomena; hypotheses which must be tested by the facts of history, or of the life of existing societies not yet lifted out of the thick mists still shrouding the infancy of mankind.

THE MONETARY CRISIS AND INDIA.

By J. H. TWIGG, B.C.S. (RETD.).

IN April last we reviewed the position of Government regarding the monetary difficulty, the cardinal fact of which was the promise to reopen the Indian Mints on the sole condition, proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that other nations should join in any bimetallic agreement "which seemed good to themselves."

That promise was broken, as we have seen, on the plea that the Government did not like to over-rule the wishes of its Indian officials who desired a gold standard for India. Thereupon great discontent arose. The principal trade and labour organizations of the country to the number of over a thousand issued a protest stigmatizing the Ministry's action as a breach of faith towards foreign nations and an injury to national industry. A feeling of anxiety also began to spread among London bankers and others when they reflected that gold would probably be taken away to India for the gold standard scheme. The Government was thus compelled to allow a debate on the subject in the House of Commons and to appoint a committee of enquiry. With the appointment of that committee came a publication of the Indian Government's proposals for a gold standard, and the disclosure has so alarmed the whole community, both in India and England, that probably the scheme will be abandoned. The Committee, however, is to investigate and report on the whole question.

The scheme proposes to melt down a hundred millions of rupees and to sell the resultant silver bullion for sixty millions of rupees, which would be locked up in the treasury, the loss being thus forty millions of rupees. These forty millions would be replaced in the treasury by 2,700,000 sovereigns to be borrowed in England. One result of this operation would therefore be to deprive the Indian public of sixty million rupees in circumstances of which the Bombay Chamber of Commerce writes that

"those engaged in trade find themselves for a second year face to face with a bank rate of 12 to 13 per cent. per annum and accommodation almost unobtainable on any terms." The Indian Government, moreover, proposes to repeat as often as may be necessary this operation of destroying silver money and locking up borrowed gold till the existing money famine is so intensified that people may be forced to bring gold from England. When gold has thus flowed into India, say to the extent of £16,000,000, Government may, we are told, pay out some of its stock, but no definite arrangement is stated. The project in several other ways betrays its authors' uncertainty. Power to borrow no less than £20,000,000 is sought, of which £5,000,000 would be taken as a first instalment, and it is suggested that the United Kingdom should assist India by "assuming a share of the liability."

In our last issue we briefly reviewed the situation, more particularly in relation to India, and expressed the opinion that both the establishment and maintenance of a gold standard in that country were possible, but sure to bring with them a train of evils far outweighing any possible gain.

A systematic examination of the question being here impossible, we propose to notice only some points of special interest.

Everyone admits that the choice lies between a gold standard and a return to the silver standard by re-opening the mints. It is also admitted that if the mints are to be re-opened, this should be done in connection with some arrangements for re-establishing bimetallism in France and the United States, inasmuch as successful bimetallism in any country would both fix exchange everywhere and secure the Indian treasury against loss by fixing the rupee at a high value.

The Indian Government objected to bimetallism on the ground that it might fail and allow the rupee to fall below 16 pence with ruinous loss to the treasury, or else that it

might succeed and raise the rupee to its old value, 24 pence as proposed, in which case trade would be greatly disturbed and exports checked or stopped, in the Indian Government's opinion, for a long time. Mr. Leonard Courtney has removed the first of these two objections by pointing out that India should agree to keep the mint open for silver only so long as the rupee might be above 16 pence, and it is probable, from statements made in Congress by Senator Wolcott, that the United States and France would accept this stipulation. Why, then, has no such proposal been made by the English Government? By its acceptance the Indian treasury would be secured against loss and there would remain only the other objection, that Indian trade and exports would be temporarily embarrassed by the high rupee.

In deciding, then, upon the only choice left to us,—that is to say, between a gold standard and mints re-opened to silver,—we would merely have to weigh the permanent evils of the gold standard at 16 pence against the temporary embarrassments of trade at 24 pence. Hesitation to answer such a question is possible only for those who have not realized the far-reaching results of extending the gold standard to a population numbering a fifth of the human race. The new demand for gold and the further depreciation of silver would alter still further the value of all money throughout the world, lowering the average price of goods in gold standard countries and raising it where silver is used. Has not this wholesale falsification of the measure of value gone far enough since 1873, when bimetallism was abolished? In that year only England and Portugal had a gold standard. Since then other countries numbering an eight-fold greater population require gold, and now the English Government proposes that three hundred millions of Indian people should join in the scramble for that metal though its production has increased only two or three fold. As things stand at present, the average wholesale price of goods in gold standard countries has fallen about 40 per

cent. since 1873, which means that the manufacturer, farmer, trader, or anyone who sells goods, has to part with $66\frac{2}{3}$ per cent.* more of them than he did twenty-five years ago. It is absurd to say that machinery probably produces $66\frac{2}{3}$ more goods than in those days, and that in this way industry is saved from the loss. Machinery on the average has not been improved to anything like that extent, and, even if it had been, a correspondingly increased supply of money would still be desirable so as to keep prices steady. It is plain, then, that the value of money, which is the average quantity of other things it will buy for us, has been altered by the action of Governments, and England should remember that she set the example in this, having been the first to abolish bimetallism. This falsification of money, the measure of value, has been effected, not in favour of the poor man against the rich, nor in favour of the industrious against the idle, but in favour of the creditor against the debtor, of the debenture-holder against the manufacturer, and the mortgagee against the farmer, with results the magnitude of which, as implied by the world's national debts alone, may be counted by thousands of millions sterling.

This is a mere glimpse at some of the disturbances produced in gold standard countries by the abolition of bimetalism in 1873, whereby their supply of silver money is now cut off and new demands are made upon the world's gold supply.

An opposite state of things prevails in silver standard countries, where prices have slightly risen and manufactures are thriving so that our merchants are losing their power to compete in those markets because the increased silver prices received for what they sell there is more than counterbalanced by the loss in changing the silver into English gold money. All these things are attested by the reports of our Consuls, and the Chairman of the Peninsular

* This is a simple matter of arithmetic; nevertheless Lord Farrer on page 252 of his "Studies in Currency" makes for at least the second time the assertion that a 40 per cent. fall of prices means only a 40 per cent. diminution of what is given in exchange for a sum of money.

and Oriental Steam Navigation Company has even expressed an opinion that before long his ships may be built in China rather than in England. No such apprehensions, however, touch the Indian Government. On the contrary, they assume in paragraph 23 of the proposal for a gold standard that their export trade will go on as before and will suffice to pay their external world's debts without sending away the new gold money.

The Secretary of State for India, in his Parliamentary defence of the proposed Indian gold standard, said the world did not agree about bimetallism. He should not have reproached the world with disagreement, for the Government to which he belongs is doing more than any other to prevent agreement. In mentioning the nations which have nominally adopted the gold standard with the object in most cases, we believe, of borrowing more readily from England, he should have added that few countries have securely retained that standard, all have suffered from it, and are beginning to understand that the remedy is a restoration of the bimetallism on behalf of which agitation is now triumphant in France and America, advancing in England and in Germany, where both houses of the legislature favour it by large majorities, and commenced even in Russia, while Japan is in such a state that a revision of the gold standard may become a necessity before long.

The bimetallic question touches much more than mere economics and finance. England is desirous of American goodwill and presumably also of friendship with France. Is it a wise thing, then, to promise them the co-operation of India and afterwards refuse performance on the plea of unwillingness to over-rule our Indian officials' opposition? This is no small matter in America where all parties are bimetallic and preparing for a second great electoral struggle as to whether they should leave England out of account and attempt bimetallism of themselves.

The immense mass of confusing detail and conflicting interests involved in the currency question make it above all things necessary to keep the principal object in view,

and that object should be not so much fixity of exchange between gold and silver money as fixity of exchange between goods and standard money, whether that be gold or silver. In other words, steadiness of purchasing power,—that is, of value,—is a more important matter for the money of every country than the rate at which it exchanges for foreign money. We are obliged thus to separately consider these two things as bimetallism, the only means of attaining both of them together, may possibly be rejected.

Bearing all this in mind, we think that the Indian Mint should be re-opened to silver even in the improbable event that bimetallic aid from other countries should be found impossible. The dominant reason for such a course lies, as we have seen, in the fact that silver is and has been steadier than gold in value,—that is, in purchasing power,—and that both metals would in the long run be steadier through a policy of securing a proper demand for each of them rather than by encouraging the present scramble for gold and the rejection of silver.

With open mints, however, the Indian treasury would have to face a heavy loss by exchange in sending to England its annual debt of £17,000,000. We cannot here discuss a recently proposed scheme for meeting this loss mainly by import duties except to say that by some such scheme the deficit could best be met and that exchange would not fall nearly so far as the Indian Government fears. The metallic value of the rupee seems to have settled down under the present very unfavourable conditions to oscillate between 9 pence and 10 pence. With open mints it would coincide with the exchange value and presumably rise at once far above a shilling, for closure of the mints instantly lowered it by 25 per cent., and there would be several influences to sustain it in the face even of silver imports from Japan, which might possibly desire to discard a certain quantity of coin. An enormous stimulus of the export trade would be not the least of these influences; but the probable results of open mints cannot be examined in the space here available.

THE RAILWAY CONNECTION OF INDIA AND CHINA.*

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN, ESQ.,
Gold Medallist, Royal Geographical Society, etc.

THERE are two ways of attacking the trade of China, so far as England is concerned. The one is from the sea-board, entering China by the main rivers, notably the Yangtsze, the main artery of China, and the West River, which passes through the Southern Provinces. The other is from England's land base, Burma, through Yunnan. Doubtless the sea approach, hitherto the only one, from the purely trading point of view is incomparably the more important; but the other, the land route, is complementary to it, and is a necessity if our influence, commercial and political, is to be maintained and extended. The isolation of China over sea has long since been annulled by steam, and the time has come when her isolation by land cannot longer last. In fact, it has already ceased.

It is now many years since first I advocated the railway connection of Burma and South-Western China, first of all with a view to opening Yunnan, and, secondly, to effect a connection between those two great waterways, the Yangtsze and the Irrawaddy. It appeared to me that the connection of the navigation limit of the Yangtsze with our Eastern Indian province was a matter of cardinal importance, not merely because it was evidently desirable for the purposes of commerce to connect the central and lower regions of the Yangtsze with Burma, but also for political reasons. And it so happens that the navigation limit of that river borders the province of Szechuan, which, for various reasons, should be the commercial and political objective of England. Recent events have emphasized the soundness of that view, and should urge us to deal, without delay, with the question of land communication between Burma and the Upper Yangtsze, for it is there that must be

* For the discussion of this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

decided the question of the commercial supremacy of Central China.

Burma is our land-gate to China. The barrier which blocked our approach from the Indian littoral was broken down by the annexation of Upper Burma. On our north-eastern frontier we are co-terminous with China, a country offering us great markets which afford hope of vast future extension, and, through this inter-connection, promising sources of future strength to both countries. On our north-western frontier the railways are almost entirely strategic and political, hardly in any sense intended to attain any commercial object; they are defensive, and lead to barren regions. On the north-east they must be politico-commercial.

The general position of France towards China, and the inconvenience and difficulties and dangers for Britain involved in her aims and aspirations in that quarter, especially through her connection with Russia, are now well-known. Briefly, France, though not a great Asiatic Power, is yet possessed of one-third of Indo-China, and is determined, by hook or by crook, less to secure the trade of Southern China, than under the guise of trade to establish there her political influence, which she intends to effect by means of railways connecting the Southern Provinces with the French possessions. The result of such action upon our prospective trade with these regions, and upon our political influence in China, has been apparent for many years past. Unless we anticipated the French, or at any rate took similar steps from the side of Burma, protective tariffs everywhere, with the avowed intention of excluding British trade in order to benefit that of France, were sure to be the inevitable result.

In the whole field of Chinese trade the region of Southern and South-Western China holds an important position. Less rich, less populated as a whole, than Central China and the Great Plain stretching from the lower Yangtze to Peking, still two provinces (Szechuan and Kwangtung) stand in the

front rank, and in mineral wealth, at least, other two provinces (Yunnan and Kweichau) are unsurpassed. So far, little of this region is reached by European manufactures, owing to the enormous cost of inland carriage, which prevents machine-made goods from entering into competition with hand-made, native manufactures. Politically, too, this region is of the very highest importance.

For the purposes of the present discussion, the question of south-western China, the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichau and Szechuan are embraced, for convenience' sake, though the last province might perhaps be more properly included within the Yangtsze basin.

Yunnan and western Kweichau constitute an elevated broken plateau with an average height of about 5,000 feet, having no communication by water with the plains lying to the north, south and east. This plateau falls abruptly to the valleys of the Yangtsze on the north, and of the Irrawaddy, Mekong and Red River on the west and south, with an easier gradient to the basin of the West River and to the plains of Kwangsi and Hunan, lying to the south and east. Reaching for some 600 miles from Indo-China to the Yangtsze, the plateau has no level surface except an occasional lake basin.

Yunnan is bordered on the west by Burma and the Shan States; on the south by the Shan States and Tongking; on the east by the provinces of Kwangsi and Kweichau; and on the north by Szechuan. On the west and south-west its rivers and streams flow through deep broad fissures that are always dangerous and frequently impassable. Several important rivers traverse Yunnan from north to south, the chief ones being the Salween and Mekong, emptying into the sea in the Bay of Bengal and on the Cochin China coast; on the west are two small waterways, the Taping and Shweli, tributaries of the Irrawaddy; in the south and south-east are the Songkoi and the West River. The upper reaches of the Yangtsze divide Yunnan from Szechuan, having several lateral streams in the north-east

of that province. Of these waterways, the Yangtze is, or could be made, navigable to the northern borders of Yunnan, and in the south the Songkoi and West River are navigable for light draught vessels, the first to the borders of Yunnan, and the latter for over half its length. From the west, in Upper Burma, communication has been maintained by the Bhamo route and through the Shan States.

The Bhamo route was for years in great favour with the Government of India, and the proposal to make it a main trade road between Burma and China consequently obtained considerable support throughout England. Expedition after expedition was sent from Burma into Yunnan by this way, but with no favourable result. Notwithstanding the unfavourable accounts given from time to time by various travellers of this route, it was tenaciously adhered to by the Indian authorities, who evinced a singular inacquaintance with the geography of this region, a fact which doubtless influenced them in neglecting the opportunities which were ours of carrying a railway through Siam to Southern China, which would both have opened the kingdom of Siam and have given us the natural approach from Burma to Yunnan and the Yangtze. Political difficulties, no doubt, arose in later years as regards Siam, but these could and should have been obviated by timely action. Siam, then, being out of the question, and the Bhamo route having at last been abandoned, though very reluctantly, there remained no course but to seek a new track for a railway, and one which would pass entirely through British territory, for this had now become a necessity owing to the neighbourhood of the French in Siam and the Shan States.

Such a railway is now being made between Mandalay, the former capital of Upper Burma, and the Kunlon Ferry, on the Salween River, a distance of some 250 miles, the terminus being situated close to the south-west corner of Yunnan, whence it is proposed to carry the line to Tali fu, a town of some importance in the west of

Yunnan. Unfortunately for the chances of success of any such railway from Upper Burma, the mountain barriers running north and south, between the great rivers, present obstacles of a very serious character. This railway will be mainly a local one, serving a section of the Shan States and one valley system running northwards to the west of Tali fu. The country west of Tali fu, practically comprised by the Taping valley, draws its supplies from Tali fu on the one hand and Bhamo on the other, but the trade is quite insignificant. The country east of Tali fu is served from the capital, Yunnan fu, which at present is supplied from Canton via the West River route and a long overland haul, and from Shanghai via the Yangtze and by a tedious land journey.

The province of Yunnan has been described in widely varying terms by various travellers and writers, either as a rich province, whose population had been reduced to several millions by the Mohammedan rebellion, which began in 1856 and ended in 1873, and by the ensuing plague and pestilence, but with immense potentialities; or as a wretchedly poor country, almost uninhabited and containing nothing of promise for the future. As the writer belongs to the former category, and is a firm believer in the potentialities of Yunnan, it is, perhaps, as well that he should quote another authority, who has an intimate acquaintance with the question and is an observer of sound judgment. Speaking of Yunnan having been described as a "rich province," Mr. Hosie remarks, "I have no hesitation in saying that it is, but it contains a poor population, and, until the condition of the latter is improved, no great development of trade need be looked for in that direction. It is estimated to contain a population of from five to six millions, the great mass of which is engaged in agricultural pursuits. True, there are copper mines in the north and east, and tin and lead mines in the south of the province; but mining industries are so hampered by official interference as to profit little the owners or the workmen.

Agriculture, too, is carried on under a system of small farms, and the absence of good roads and the impossibility of greatly improving those that exist, owing to the mountainous character of the province, do not tend to the enrichment of the peasantry. Nor is this all; immense tracts in the north and west of the province have lain waste since the Mohammedan rebellion, and owing to the antipathy of the Chinese to settle on lands which they look upon as the property of people who may still be living, or whose descendants may still be living, it must be many years before the agriculture of the province is properly developed."

With the destruction of the old industries of the province—mining, silk rearing, and manufacture—came an increased demand for opium in Szechuan and the eastern provinces, which led to poppy cultivation becoming the great industry of Yunnan. Foreign imports are paid for in opium in both Yunnan and Kweichau. Owing to the water communication by the Yangtze, a heavier class of goods is sent to Szechuan than to Yunnan, where pack animals and porters are exclusively employed, thus rendering the question of weight a serious matter for consideration; but the conclusion seems to be that prices are rather higher, and that for goods of lighter texture and inferior quality than at Chungking. Foreign goods almost without exception come from Hongkong by way of Pakhoi or Chinchau to Nanning fu, thence by boat to Pose and Pongai, and thence by caravan through Kwangnan fu. Puerh fu was for three years in the possession of the Mohammedan rebels, and has never recovered its former prosperity, but at present, although containing a thoroughly Chinese population, there does not seem to be much trade.

The climate of Yunnan is bad in the valleys but fairly good in the open plains. The north has a climate probably as suited to Europeans as any in this part of Indo-China. Yunnan fu stands on a lake which is at the bottom of an extensive depression. Formerly there was no outlet

for the water of this basin, Mr. Bourne was told, and only in the thirteenth century was the canal cut which now carries the water from the south-west side of the lake into a stream that flows north to the Yangtze. Yunnan fu is at the centre of each of the converging routes, and occupies a position admirable for administrative purposes. With proper communications Yunnan fu would become a very important city.

Ssumao is a thriving town, although, as Bourne remarks, it will not compare either in trade or appearance with the third-class cities of Szechuan or the lower Yangtze.

The wealth of Upper Burma, including its resources in Western China and the Shan States, is incalculable, but it lies fallow at present for want of communications, both internal and with the outer world. Without facilitating our communications we need expect no great expansion of our commerce in Western China, Burma, or other parts of Indo-China. The laying down of a comprehensive system of railways and of lateral feeder roads and light railways to open up these regions would involve a considerable outlay for some years to come; but the money thus invested would be richly repaid.

One of the most remarkable facts about Lower Burma is the rapidity with which the population has grown. Burma and its Shan States provide an admirable absorbing ground for the ever-growing and dense populations of India, and for the rapidly increasing populations of China. There is ample room for an increase of eighty millions to the present population of United Burma.

The statement of the resources of Yunnan given by Mr. Hosie seems to me fair, but I think it is reasonable to maintain that a province which before the Mohammedan rebellion supported something like 16,000,000, and now maintains about 6,000,000, mainly on agriculture, gives promise of developing a lucrative trade, provided only that communications are improved. The wealth is in the minerals, and this being the case, it is only by communica-

tions that the condition of the people can be greatly altered for the better, and that the security and order necessary, especially for mining operations, can be brought about. However this may be, the view that Yunnan is worthless appears to me to be absolutely untenable, and it is not those, it may be noted, who have had a varied experience of the province, or who have studied its condition and resources, such as M. Rocher, Mr. Bourne, and Mr. Hosie, but rather those cyclist commissioners and others who have crossed merely the north-western section of Yunnan from Bhamo to the Yangtze—the very route whose impracticability the writer spent years in demonstrating—who are responsible for this opinion, which it is hardly necessary to take seriously. I have always been of opinion that the configuration of Yunnan is such that no single route can reach or tap the whole trade of the province. To propose one route for the whole country is like advocating some quack medicine for a patient who lies ill with half a dozen ailments. It seemed to me in former days, as it does now, that the Yangtze water route could only deal with the northern part of the province, for the physical features precluded the possibility of trade penetrating, without railways, into the heart of Yunnan. In referring to Mr. Hosie's opinion of Yunnan I am glad to frankly own that my opinion of the whole question has been to a certain extent modified by the fact that the northern part is more valuable than I understood, for it appears that this region is exceedingly rich in copper, and contains some of the most fertile plains in Western China. Yunnan, then, will be served from three different quarters—from Burma on the south-west, Tongking on the south-east, and from the upper Yangtze in the north. But in this admission I can see nothing to operate against the advisability of having the railway communication I have urged, which would benefit both the Yangtze basin and the Shanghai trade, as well as Burma and the trade of Rangoon. It is not a case of two rival routes but of two

complementary routes which would be of great mutual advantage. And if this be true of Yunnan, it is also true of Szechuan.

Turning now to the province of Kweichau, we find that, though less developed than even Yunnan, and though a secluded region, it has the advantage of the latter in the matter of water communications, owing to its position with regard to the Yangtze river. Excepting the Yuan river, the waterways serving the province pass through Szechuan. The Yuan river, from the eastern part of the province, runs east and north-east to the Tungting lake, which empties into the Yangtze a little more than a hundred miles above Hankau; the Yuan, notwithstanding the rapids obstructing its course, is navigable to a point a little more than a hundred miles from Kweiyang, the capital of Kweichau. The Yuan river, therefore, serves the eastern section of Kweichau, the remaining portions being intimately connected with Szechuan. The home of the Miaotzu, a non-Chinese race, Kweichau has been on many occasions the theatre of internecine struggle between the aboriginal tribes and the Chinese. The mountainous character of the country lent itself to the guerilla warfare waged between the natives of the soil and the newcomers. The Miaotzu were driven step by step to the southern section of the province, leaving traces behind, too common a sight in many parts of China, of the ruin and desolation brought about by civil war. The struggle here, as in Yunnan and in Kansu, was waged after the usual Chinese fashion, that is, diplomacy and the silver key played a much larger part in the conquest of Kweichau than the prowess of arms. The Chinese population, especially of the northern half, consists of emigrants from the neighbouring provinces, and these not of the highest class, for Kweichau, notwithstanding its immense mineral wealth in coal, iron, copper and quicksilver, cannot be pronounced an inviting country.

And here a few words may not be out of place regarding

the people of Yunnan and Kweichau, especially the Mohammedans of Yunnan and the Shans of Kweichau. It is evident that if England means seriously to make good her claim to the Yangtsze basin these people and the aborigines of Szechuan and the Mohammedans of Kansu are bound to play an important part and constitute a factor of the first value. And even the Chinese inhabitants of these provinces, by which term I here mean the non-aboriginal and non-Mohammedan population, are very different from the Chinese of the plains.*

Let us see what the Yangtsze is like from its cradle in Tibet to the entrance where it forms for us "the gate to China."

The Yangtsze-kiang, or Blue River, usually called the Ta-kiang, or Great River, takes its rise in the high central plateau of Tibet. It extends from 88° E. to 122° E., covering in its winding course a distance of some 3,000 miles, of which 2,000 are navigable. The main stream is formed by three branches having their confluence at longitude 94° E., and latitude $34^{\circ} 50'$ N., where its breadth in the dry weather is 750 feet and in the summer rains over a mile. Its level here is about 13,000 feet above the sea, and at this point it is separated from the Hoang ho only by the Bayan Kara mountains, the melting snows of which feed both rivers. At the junction the river is called Murinussu, or "Winding Water," by the Mongols, and the Dichu, or "River of the Cow," by the Tibetans. Curving first in an easterly direction, it then proceeds southwards through tremendous gorges past the town of Batang. Twisting to the east, it passes the town of Likiang, whence it makes a half-circle and is joined by the Yalung. After this, making another curve it proceeds through still more stupendous ravines north-eastwards to Suifu. Here it is joined by its large

* The south-western provinces, Yunnan, Kweichau, and Kwangsi, are so poor that the taxes do not yield enough for the expenses of government, says Jamieson, Kweichau requiring an aid of 750,000 taels, of which Szechuan and the Shanghai customs each contributed one half.

affluent the Min, which is considered by the Chinese the main river. This popular idea had several reasons for its foundation. The Yangtsze, or Kinsha kiang, the "River of Golden Sand," as it is here called—is only navigable to Pingshan, about 40 miles above Suifu, while the Min river is navigable to Chengtu, the capital of Szechuan.

The mountainous districts enclosed southwards by the great bend of the Upper Yangtsze belong ethnically to Tibet, although politically separated from that region; the majority of the people are of the same stock, and have similar customs and social institutions. In Western Szechuan and Yunnan the rivers are crossed by suspension bridges, or in movable seats slung from bank to bank on bamboo ropes. In Chinese Tibet the permanent dwellings are rudely built of undressed stone, pierced with narrow openings and having flat roofs. They are generally perched on solitary crags, where they have the appearance of ruined strongholds. The contrast is striking between the Tibetan and Chinese villages, the latter being generally grouped in compact masses, the former scattered over a wide area, so that all the enclosed towns are Chinese, the straggling suburbs Tibetan. The lamassaries, however, where hundreds and even thousands live together in a single community, are inhabited almost exclusively by Tibetans.*

This magnificent province, says Mrs. Bishop, "which, from its size, population, trade, and productions, may truly be called the empire province," gives a greatly enlarged idea of the splendid possibilities for trade which exist in Western China, and a truer perception of the capacities, resourcefulness, and enterprise of the Chinese themselves.†

"In the mountains," she says, "there are innumerable horse-shoe corries with narrow entrances, terraced and ex-

* *Géographie Universelle*, E. Reclus.

† The main road from Wan to Chengtu, which Mrs. Bishop followed for five days, is "a fine work in good repair, flagged, carried by stone staircases up and down declivities, and over the pass of Shen-kia-chao (2,740 feet) by 5,000 imposing granite stairs," and many of the stone bridges would be regarded anywhere as imposing structures.

quisitely cultivated, each with its large and handsome farmhouse and its cedar and cypress groves; and mandarins' country houses, rivalling some of our renowned homes in size and stateliness, are frequent. As the country grows more open there are fortified refuges on rocky heights, great temples with porcelain fronts in rich colouring, distilleries, paper and flour-mills, and every town and large village has its special industry—silk-weaving, straw-plaiting, hat-making, dressing hides, iron or brass work, pottery and china, chair-making, dyeing, carving and gilding idols, making the red paper used for religious and festive purposes, and the imitation gold and silver coins burned as offerings, etc., everything indicates industry and prosperity and a certain security for the gains of labour. There is no winter."

The celebrated Chengtu plain is thus described by Mrs. Bishop: "This glorious plain, with its four million inhabitants, its prosperous cities and villages, its innumerable 'palatial' farmhouses among cedars, bamboo, and fruit trees, its fine bridges with roofs decorated in lacquer and gold; its stately temples, its enormous wheelbarrow traffic, its water and oil mills, its boundless fertility and wealth, and its immunity for two thousand years from drought and floods, are the monument of the engineering genius of one man, whose temple on a wooded height above the gorge of the Couching Dragon, on the Min, is the most magnificent in China, bearing his motto incised in stone and lettered in gold in every conspicuous place, '*Dig the bed deep, keep the banks low.*'"*

Chengtu is justly celebrated throughout China; the population approaches a million, and everything indicates its wealth and political importance. Marco Polo calls it Sindafu, and the province Acbalect Manzi, describing the "fine stone bridge, half a mile long, with a roof resting on marble pillars, under which trade and industry are carried on."†

* R. G. Proceedings, 1897.

† Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. II., p. 23.

The valley of the Min is the centre of a great civilization. The land on either side of the river is very highly cultivated by means of irrigation canals. Below the junction of the Min the Yangtsze flows to the north-east a distance of some 200 miles to Chungking, which lies at the mouth of the Kialing, a river entering the Yangtsze from the north. Chungking is a great commercial city, the second trade emporium of inland China.*

Until communication by steam was established, as it has recently been, the trade of Chungking could not be expected to expand. The province of Szechuan, rich as it is, has the disadvantage of being difficult of access from the rest of the world, for merchandise can now only reach it during certain months of the year and after a perilous voyage, which may take 6 weeks, but more frequently 3 months. The trade of the place would be increased very greatly were the navigation with Ichang rendered better and safer.†

* Under Article VI. of the Chifu Convention, four new ports were opened to foreign commerce, viz.: Chungking, in the province of Szechuan; Shashih, in Hupei; Suchau, in Kiangsu; and Hangchau, in Chekiang. Chungking was already open in a fashion. British subjects were allowed to establish themselves there, and to import and export merchandise at the same tariff of duties as other ports; but the right of British vessels to visit the port was not conceded, the carrying trade being restricted to native junks. By the Japanese treaty steam navigation was permitted as far as Chungking, and under the most favoured nation clause the right accrued to us.

† Nor is Chungking the head of navigation of the Yangtsze. The section of the river between Chungking and Suifu, a distance of two hundred miles, is as suited to steamer navigation as between Kweichau fu and Chungking, and it is by this stretch of the river that the trade of northern and western Kweichau and northern Yunnan is conducted. West of Suifu the trade on the upper waters of the Yangtsze is insignificant and above P'ing-shan there are several rapids which would present serious obstacles to a steamer, but the trade is insignificant, and steamers will never be required to run west of Sui-fu.

The time required to navigate a junk between Ichang and Chungking depends upon the state of the river. In winter, twenty-five to thirty days are usually required, while at high water, in July for example, six to eight weeks are considered fair passages. The down journey occupies from six to twelve days. The time required, the labour employed, and the risks incurred in navigating a junk on the Yangtsze necessitate very heavy freights. (Hosie.)

Fughi, or one of the other marts the opium is packed to a weight of 1,000 ounces. Large bands of these men may be seen trudging like beasts of burden along the difficult mountain paths to Shashih in Hupei, each man receiving a mere pittance of wages for his long and weary journey.

The junks used on the river are of two classes. One is the large Szechuan boat, with high stern, single mast, and bow-steering sweep, a heavy, cumbrous craft of great carrying capacity, requiring a crew of from 60 to 80 trackers and sailors; the other the "sparrow-tail" junk, with a tripped mast, sharp, low stern, and stern-steering sweep, a narrow craft sailing close to the wind. The latter has a small carrying capacity in proportion to its length, and requires a crew of 40 to 50 hands.

Owing to the dangers of the passage above Ichang, up and down river freights are high. There is no system of insurance, and junk-owners are not responsible for any damage to the cargo which may be caused by the frequent mishaps. Freights vary with the dangers, and the dangers vary according to the condition of the river. During the short season of the summer freshets all traffic is suspended. The cargo is invariably made up in packages of a recognised size measuring from 16 to 18 cubic feet. The freight on each is from 3 dollars to 3 dollars 60 cents up stream, and 2 dollars 60 cents to 3 dollars 20 cents down, according to the season. The ascending passage from Ichang to Chungking takes from 30 to 40 days, and the return from 6 to 8 days. Up-river freights barely pay expenses, and the profits are either made on the return journey or by smuggling, in no small degree by the latter. All junks anchor for the night, whether bound up or down. The river and its traffic are under the protection and control of two squadrons of the Yangtze patrol force, whose headquarters are Ichang and Chungking. The Ichang squadron is composed of about 50 gunboats and despatch vessels, mostly engaged in the vicinity of the rapids in guarding wrecked property and saving life. About 600 men, under

the Ichang "admiral," are employed in this force, and the service is performed with great efficiency. The onerous duties which they have to perform at the rapids are greatly lightened by the friendly and kindly relations existing among the boatmen themselves. They yield each other mutual assistance, and help one another out of any difficulty with the utmost goodwill and readiness. The community of danger, exposure, and toil by which they earn their living seems to have a humanizing influence on a class of men who in happier and more favoured parts of China often form the rudest part of the community.

The three most dreaded rapids between Kweichau and Ichang are the Tatungtan at the head of the Ichang gorge, the Ching-tan, at the head of the Lukan gorge, and the Yehtan, above the small town of Kwei. With the exception of the Ninkan and Metsang gorges—where the water, hemmed in by stupendous walls of rock, lies placidly 360 feet in depth—from the upper end of the Ichang gorge to the boundary of Szechuan the river is one succession of rapids. Close by the gorges the hills retire and lower their heads, the river assuming a width of half a mile, with a depth of 20 to 30 feet at low water.

Ichang, the present limit of the steamer navigation, is 1,000 miles from the sea, the total navigable distance of the Yangtze proper being 1,760 miles, and, including its branch, the Min, about 2,000 miles. The trade of Ichang, amounting to about £500,000, consists mainly of trade with Szechuan, principally cotton goods; and in exports, silk, white wax and medicines.

Goods and produce for Szechuan are brought to Shashih and Ichang from all parts of China for transhipment into Szechuan junks. The greater part comes from Hankau, a long and tedious journey of thirty to forty days by junk. It is this section of the trade which the development of steamers will so much benefit. An illustration of the difficulties attendant upon the introduction of steamers, and the results achieved thereby, may be given. Shortly after

Ichang was opened, a steamer was put on the river between that port and Hankau. It was anticipated with confidence that the Szechuan traders would avail themselves of the expeditious transit thus afforded them, but although it was made evident that goods which were formerly forty days in transit to Ichang when conveyed in junks could be brought by steamer in five days, the Chinese merchants engaged in the Szechuan trade held back. Vested interests induced some traders to oppose, but the great majority were restrained by other reasons. They were uncertain whether the steamer would be able to run regularly in winter, when the river is low, and they feared the risk, should the steamer stop running, of having their cargo shut out from transport by the irritated junk-owners. A "junk ring" was formed, not only of the owners but of the up-river carriers, and threats were made against traders shipping by steamer on the lower reaches of the river. The first steamer, unfortunately, was a failure, being unable to run during the winter, and was withdrawn. A second attempt made by the China Merchants' Company proved more successful. The steamer obtained some support, and the junk ring gradually lost strength. It was not till 1879, however, that the company were able to keep open communications throughout the winter by means of a light-draught, stern-wheel steamer. This changed the whole complexion of affairs. The Chinese, who had been waiting to see how the system would work practically, began to patronize the steamer largely. Still the steam service is far from what it should be. In part of December, January, February and March, when the river level is about lowest, the steamer is often unable to run with regularity. It is hardly necessary to remark that such checks to the navigation are most damaging to the steady development of trade on the Upper Yangtze. A most persistent attempt by means of a specially constructed steamer to open this trade, has through a series of years been made by Mr. Little, with final success, and a debt of

gratitude is due to the plucky pioneer. Whenever and wherever the advantages of steam traffic, properly applied, are made apparent to the Chinese, they will never return to the junk.

Throughout its lower course the Yangtsze is lined on both sides, but especially on its right bank, by numerous marshes and shallow lakes or reservoirs, which are dry except during the inundations but receive during the flood season the waters of the Yangtsze and its subsidiary drainage, a characteristic feature of the important provinces Hunan and Kiangsi, which is noted elsewhere. The Tungting, the largest of these lakes, lies to the south of the Yangtsze, just above its confluence with the Han river on the north side. In ordinary inundations this enormous sheet of water, with a circuit of over 220 miles, extends over 2,000 square miles, and at times extends as far inland as Changsha fu, a city lying on the Siang, seventy-six miles to the south. The lake was dry when Richthofen passed through it, and the Siang river was as well defined between its banks throughout the bed of the lake as it was further up stream. The width of this river in the lake was from 200 to 1,000 yards. The lake is also joined by the Yuen, which likewise continues its course as a river throughout the whole basin of the lake. The Yuen drains the southwest and the Siang the south of the province of Hunan. Both rivers have their rapids and shallows within the area of the lake itself—a noticeable fact. Boats navigating the Siang in this, the lowest, portion of its course, draw no more than 2 feet to 3 feet; those on the Yuen only 16 inches. The lake bottom consists of fine micaceous sand, which forms quicksands in the bed of the Siang. Boats grounding badly at the season of low water are lost, on account of the sands, which rapidly accumulate around and engulf them. These alluvial deposits slope down gradually from the south to the north. The banks of the Siang, which are more than 35 feet above the dry-season level near the Siang yin, become lower and lower as the

stream is descended, until at its exit into the Yangtze they are only 5 to 6 feet high. An idea of the capacity of the Tungting lake may be formed from the fact that the rivers entering it drain some 80,000 square miles in the province of Hunan, while the plain of southern Hupei, including a portion of Hunan and the Tungting lake, cover an area of some 20,000 square miles. The basin of the Yangtze has been frequently described as "one vast coalfield," not altogether an accurate description, however, as will be apparent from what has been written on the subject of the coalfields of China by Richthofen and others.

Below the Tungting the Yangtze receives its great affluent, the Han river, flowing from the Tsingling range through Shansi and Hupei south-eastwards to the left bank of the Yangtze at Hankau. In summer, but in summer alone, this river might be made navigable for light-draught steamers some 300 miles. The Han river is embanked for 288 miles of its course, the rise in summer at its mouth being 50 feet, and where the levées end only 18 feet. In April and May the waters begin to rise, and are high during several months of the summer. Laohokau is the head of the comparatively easy navigation on the Han. By means of branches of that river, only navigable by small boats above Laohokau, goods are distributed over an enormous area in Hupei, Shansi, Honan, and even some portions of Chihli. Goods are actually delivered, by means of the Han and a five days' carriage over a mountainous route, at Sian fu, the capital of Shansi, a distance of some 700 miles. On one of the other affluents of the Han is situated the famous mart of Shikichin. This place is the *entrepôt* for the transport of all merchandise between the north-western provinces on the one hand and the central and south-western on the other. Its importance is evident. Thence there exists a continuous water communication north-west and south-west to remote regions of the empire. North and north-west of the radius of the Han water system there exists no water communication.

To the north-east of it communications are only found after a long distance is traversed. Finally, it is only by means of the Han and through the mart of Shikichin that goods can be transported from Hupei, Szechuan and Hunan to the northern interior provinces.

At the confluence of the Han with the Yangtsze lies the treaty port of Hankau, with an enormous population, and a foreign trade of about £10,000,000. On the other bank is Wuchang, the provincial capital, also with a great population. Other important cities are grouped round this point. The trade of Hankau has shown a diminution of late years, owing mainly to the decrease in exports, especially tea. It is a significant fact that the transit trade of this port exceeds in value the entire foreign trade of any of the recently opened ports. The foreign trade of Szechuan, as shown by the transit trade from Ichang and Hankau, already equals the entire trade of several of the open ports. Goods are brought up to Hankau by sea-going vessels, or by the river steamers, of which there are three companies, namely the China Merchants, under the Chinese, and the Indo-Chinese and China Navigation Companies, under the British flag. By mutual arrangement one steamer of one or other of the companies leaves each end of the Shanghai-Hankau line every working day. After repacking, goods are sent on to Szechuan under foreign transit pass as foreign-owned goods. According to the consular reports, however, confirmed by private inquiry, $\frac{99}{100}$ are entirely native-owned from the hour they leave Shanghai. The foreign steamer owner gets his freight, and a class of *soi-disant* native traders exists, who in rather a questionable way earn a pittance, representing the goods to be their property, and applying for the necessary passes. Shanghai is essentially the foreigners' market, and not Hankau.

The valley of the Han is one of the central regions, where all advantages are united for the prosperity and increase of the population. There are to be found a healthy, temperate climate, fertile soil, abundant water of

excellent quality, varied flora, marble and building stone, as well as coal. Enough has been said to show the importance of Hankau as a central junction for trade communications, and for the future railway system of Western China.

Below Hankau the only feature which requires notice is the Poyang Lake, famous for its surrounding beauty. Near the confluence of the river draining that sheet of water and the Yangtsze is situated the treaty port of Kiukiang, an important trade centre. The Poyang resembles the Tungting Lake in its main features; namely, its vast dimensions and its importance as a terminus for trade. It receives, by means of the Fu, Kan, and other lesser streams, the drainage of the whole Kiangsi basin. Inundations on the Yangtsze raise the surface of the lake at times as much as 30 feet. Populous towns are numerous on the wooded hill-sides, as well as on the islands and peninsulas, and fleets of junks, floating towns, are anchored next the ports. What has been said regarding the Tungting Lake and Hunan, as regards the possible development of trade, may be applied to the Poyang and Kiangsi. The enormous trade to be developed by the Han valley, north of the Yangtsze, and through the Tungting and Poyang lakes and their affluents, which radiate in a southerly direction in the region to the south, will now be evident. These lakes and waterways are far from perfect. Still, steam navigation, given proper customs facilities, can accomplish much, and where the steamer cannot be applied with advantage the railway can step in. Railways run up the valleys of the Kan and Fu, and the Siang and Yuen rivers would open the provinces of Kiangsi and Hunan effectively. These lines would act as "feeders" to the mighty Yangtsze, and develop a most important and remunerative stream of commerce, which would centre at Shanghai. Carried across the "divide," the line will some day be taken down the valley of the Peikiang to Canton, and be the means of developing an enormous inter-provincial traffic.

Below the Poyang on to Nanking there is not much to be noted here. In its course through the populous province of Anhuci, a distance of some 200 miles, the Yangtsze passes a succession of towns, many of them of importance. The treaty port for this region is Wuhu. It promises to develop into a great rice-exporting centre, though it will always be liable to suffer from terrible inundations, such as once brought 1,000,000 people to seek State relief. At Nanking the delta and its low flat lands commence, soon opening out into the estuary of the Yangtsze. Chinkiang, the port of the Kiangsu province, is situated where the Grand Canal reaches the Yangtsze, and occupies an important position. From this place to the mouth of the river there are still some 200 miles to be traversed. At the debouchure the width is 60 miles, and although the estuary is in places over 30 feet deep, the navigation is much obstructed by the numerous mud and sand banks which are constantly forming. At low water the deepest channels have hardly more than 14 feet of water, but at the flow vessels drawing 18 feet to 20 feet can easily pass. The greatest obstacle, however, and the most dreaded danger, are the dense fogs which often envelop the whole estuary and neighbouring sea-board. Many a vessel is lost each year from this cause. Regarding the trade of Shanghai, space does not permit any lengthy examination of its condition; suffice it to say that this active and vigorous trade centre, justly called the "commercial capital" of China, has an average foreign trade of over £19,000,000, not counting the large coasting trade; and that it promises an enormous development.

In conclusion, although something has been accomplished on the Yangtsze, its capacity has hardly yet been tested, the West River and other streams of Southern China are to a certain extent unutilized. I have shown that outside the river system there are vast tracts yet untouched; and in great portions again, reached by the network, the defective water carriage, aided by the customs barriers, effectually

hinders any development of trade. There remain the lakes next the Yangtze, and the rivers, which have to be effectively opened to light-draught steam navigation. But unless the merchants make use of these waterways, little will come of this concession recently obtained. The waterways of the country, the "glory of China," are altogether insufficient, and railways are required. Midland railways, driven from north to south, are the pressing want of China.

The natural channel of trade for the large region drained by the West River is the waterway itself. The account of the river itself which is given in "Across Chrysê"—the narrative of my exploration in 1882—conveys the impression that the region is not only unruly, but very poor. But, as I pointed out, the ruined cities along the river showed signs of past prosperity and even grandeur, which have passed away owing to the Taiping and Mohammedan rebellions and the consequent diversion of the carrying trade to other routes. The route once opened effectively, these provinces would rapidly recover their former flourishing condition. As regards the question of navigation, much remains to be done in surveying the river thoroughly. Light-draught steamers are plying on the Sikiang for several hundred miles to Wuchaufu, more than half way to its navigation limit at Pese, on the Yunnan frontier. And while there is probably no possibility of making the West River navigable to the frontier of Yunnan, it seems likely that Nanning, a commercial centre of great importance, can be opened to steam navigation. By merely clearing slightly the channel at the rapids, making better tow paths in certain parts, and providing these where they do not exist, much might be done on the upper reaches of the river. The road from Yunnanfu, the capital, to Pose, might be greatly shortened, and, with a properly organized service of river patrol, such as exists on the Yangtze, rendering life and property secure, an important trade might be developed.

The extinction of the once great traffic, owing to the rebellions, and the crushing taxes levied at the numerous

customs barriers have impoverished the people, and so far rendered impossible the resuscitation of its former populous and opulent cities. By throwing open the river to steam navigation, and by carrying out the reforms indicated, much may be done, however, to develop the resources of the South. The first step should be the really free navigation of the river, the creation of a treaty port at Nanning, the centre of a region which should develop an important trade, and the construction of a railway to Yunnan fu. Among the affluents of the West River which can be opened is the Pekiang, or North river, draining the country lying directly north of Canton. This stream is navigable for some 150 miles, and passes through a productive country with important mineral resources. There are other rivers in Southern China which would prove highly valuable arteries of trade, such as the Han, which drains an important tract of country, finding its debouchure at Swatow; the Min also offers some inducements.

Pakhoi and Chinchau supply foreign goods to the whole of southern Yunnan, western Kwangsi, and southern Kweichau, through regular channels, unchecked by excessive taxation, and as the fertile valleys of Yunnan and Kweichau are peopled by Chinese immigrants from Szechuan and Hunan, Pakhoi will prosper. The great highway for foreign imports is viâ Nanning and Pose.* A railway along this route would meet with no serious difficulties, and is probably the easiest line for a railway to mount the plateau. If a railway be constructed from Tongking viâ

	Land.	Water.
	Days.	Days.
* Pakhoi to Nanning	3	11
Nanning to Pose	—	15
Pose to Pongai	—	3
Pongai to Kwangnan-fu	8	—
Kwangnan-fu to Yunnan-fu	12	—
	23	29

Lungchau, or still more so if above Lungchau to Yunnan fu, a heavy blow would be struck at the West River trade centring at Hongkong. Every effort will of course be made by the French, by means of preferential tariffs and putting pressure on the Chinese authorities, to divert the trade to the French possession. The shortest and most effective means of opening the upper West River basin in the interests of China and of the world at large, is to construct a railway from Pakhoi to Nanning, a step which should be taken, and taken at once. Otherwise an incentive for French interference will continue, and be a constant source of difficulty and danger.

A consideration of all the circumstances irresistibly leads one to the conclusion that it is from Burma on the one hand, and from Shanghai and Hongkong on the other, that England must, by the aid of steam, applied overland and by waterway, effectively occupy the Upper Yangtze region, the key to our position in China. China has ceased to be a buffer, and England must effectively occupy the Yangtze region and Southern China if she means to hold her own.

It seems to be assumed in certain quarters, perhaps because so much stress has been laid upon the Yangtze basin, that we view with indifference the future of Southern China, the hinterlands of Hongkong and of Burma, the avenues by which the upper Yangtze can be bound to our land and sea bases. No illusions should be permitted regarding this question. In view of what has recently occurred in Northern China, of the aims and ambitions of France and Russia, and especially of French designs, it is to be hoped that there will be no more "graceful concessions" on the part of this country. Of late years difficulties have arisen in Siam, in West Africa, in Madagascar and elsewhere, and each of these occasions has been pronounced to be of insufficient importance to make a determined stand upon; we are now being confronted with a grave danger, which seemingly is considered to be too great to face boldly. But we have to stand somewhere.

At all costs, at all hazards, we must keep open the hinterlands of Burma and Hongkong and our approaches to the upper Yangtze, if we mean to maintain ourselves in Central China, and if we mean to prevent the "back-way" to India passing into the hands of potential enemies.

In conclusion, I commend to your consideration certain passages in Mr. Chamberlain's plain-spoken speech of May 13th: "No more vital question has ever been presented for the decision of a Government and the decision of a nation, . . . events of the most momentous importance to every man and woman in this country; . . . our position is far from satisfactory. . . . All the powerful States of Europe have made alliances," and "the country is liable to be confronted at any moment with a combination of great Powers"; there has been "for some time past a combined assault by the nations of the world upon the commercial supremacy of this country," which, if successful, "would menace our existence in a way in which it never has been threatened since the time when the great Napoleon attempted to lay an interdict upon British trade."

Yes! the very existence of the nation is menaced, and the menace should be confronted to-day as it has been in the past, by a bold and determined stand.

THE YANG-TSZE VALLEY AND BRITISH COMMERCE.

BY ALFRED BARTON, M.D.

BETWEEN the years 1856 and 1863 the Empire of China was shaken by internecine convulsion. Rebellion had broken out in many of the provinces; the Taipings ravaging Kwang-Tung, Kiang-Si, Che-kiang and Ngan-Hwei. This insurrection was believed by the missionaries to be a Christian uprising; but amongst these Taipings not a man of note or education was to be found. They were simply ruffians of the lowest description, belonging to the poorest class of agriculturists and farmers; and driven by the misrule of the Government, and the squeezing of the mandarins, to open rebellion. They were joined by the seashore population, mainly composed of pirates. The hero afterwards known as "Chinese Gordon" quelled this outbreak in 1864.

In the south-west, a Mahomedan insurrection was going on in Yu-Nan. These followers of the Prophet were introduced into China by the Emperor, Sutsung, in 757, when he called in the assistance of Caliph Aboo Jaffir al Mansoir (*vide* Colonel Yule's work on Cathay) against a powerful rebel. Many of these Mahomedans remained in the country as settlers, after peace was restored. They were joined in considerable numbers by their brethren from Turkestan and from the North, thereby greatly increasing their power and importance.

In 1855 the Mahomedans rose against the intolerable tyranny of the Chinese Government officials, and the struggle ended in achieving their independence, which certainly lasted till 1861—the year of our arrival at Ping Shang, when another insurrection was raging in Sze-chuan north of Yu-nan. These rebels were a mixture of Musselman Chinese, Tufeh (hill-robbers) and the Maoutze (independent hill-tribes), *all* joining in the cry for emancipation

from the oppressive rule of the Mandarins, and encouraged, not only by the success of the Yu-nan Mahomedans, but by the helpless attitude of the Central Government. These united forces in 1859 began plunder on an extensive scale. Their strength was increased by the terror-stricken flight of the Mandarins, whose soldiers deserted in large numbers, and joined the revolt. Other help was afforded by the unhappy people of the country, in order to escape starvation, their homes having been gutted and burnt.

Rebellion had also broken out in the provinces of Kan-su and Shen-si, greatly perplexing the Chinese Government, whose war with England had only just terminated, after the destruction of the summer-palace of Yuen-ming-Yuen, and the investment of Peking. This, briefly, was the condition of the country when, on the 11th of February, 1861, our party of three, viz., Major Sarel, 9th Lancers, Captain Blakiston, R.A., and myself, with attendants, started from Shanghai to explore the Yangtsze river, as far as its waters would carry us; and next to strike across country, *via* the old route from Ching-tu (the capital of Sze-chuan), to Lhasa; and through Tibet, across the Himalayas into India.

At the present time, the Yang-tsze Kiang is so well known, as far as I-Chang (1,000 miles west), it is only necessary to describe its course beyond this city; specially beyond Chung-king. From I-Chang the term "upper waters" is applied. This 1,000 miles of flat country, rich in alluvial deposit, is of most fertile description, supplying three crops in the year of beans, cotton, rice, and other cereals. The people are a quiet, contented, hardworking race.

It was remarkable, and even startling, to notice the difference between the aspect of the country occupied by the Taipings and that left undisturbed by their ravages; for after passing An-kin, the last village held by the Taipings, the face of the country was utterly changed. We had left behind us a howling wilderness—a barren waste, and had entered a country teeming with life and industry. Both

sides of the river were green with young wheat; the people were well fed and well clothed; and pleasant homesteads and farms were everywhere seen. The country between Hang-Kow and the mouth of the Tung-Ting lake was under rich cultivation.

Yo-Chau, a walled city, situated on a high red sand-cliff, guards the entrance of this, the largest lake in China. The shores are thickly populated, and on the water are floating islands, peopled by several families. These aquatic hamlets are formed by quantities of the hollow bamboo, lashed together, forming a huge raft, to which soil is brought, and small productive gardens are thus constructed and cultivated. These raft-dwellers are great fishers, with trained cormorants, which are arranged on the gunwales of the sampans. It is curious and interesting to watch these birds catching fish. Disappearing from their perch, and returning in short space, every one is expected to bear a fish in his beak. Any failure is followed by punishment. They are hindered from swallowing their prey by a stricture around the neck; the fish being deftly ejected and thrown into the boat.

The recently opened port of Yo-Chau, with the free navigation of the Tung-king lake, is of the utmost importance to commerce. The lake receives the waters of several navigable rivers, draining the high lands of the province of Ho-nan; and the country surrounding this huge basin is rich in coal, minerals, and cereals, which can only be conveyed by Yo-Chau to the market of Hankow.

From I-Chang we entered the gorges, traversing the rapids to Wan (140 geog. miles). This portion of the river is the most formidable to navigation; the strongest and longest rapids being here; and, as will be seen by the Admiralty chart (John Arrowsmith), it is the narrowest part of the river for 1,800 miles of its course. The chart will also give the names of the rapids and the gorges.

In one of the clauses of the Che-foo Convention of 1876, it was stated that when a steamer was constructed so as to

overcome the rapids, and arrive safely at Chung-king, this city should become an open port. In 1887, a syndicate for this purpose, calling itself the Upper Yang-tsze Steam Navigation Company, was formed in London. Mr. Archibald Little was one of the directors. A suitable vessel was built under the direction of Mr. J. McGregor of London, and sent out in sections to Shanghai. There it was put together, and steamed up to I-Chang, ready for starting on her risky voyage. At I-Chang the steamer waited one year; and notwithstanding the energetic measures taken by Her Majesty's Minister at Peking to procure a permit for the steamer to traverse this section of the river, the persistently obstructive policy of the Chinese Government prevailed. Their given reasons for this opposition were most absurd. One example will suffice. It was asserted that the greatest danger would be incurred among the gorges, where the vertical cliffs were infested by large monkeys, which would certainly hurl rocks down on the unhappy crew, destroying both them and their steamer!

The steamer could have proceeded without a permit, as a matter of right, according to treaty, but such a measure might have caused trouble between the two Governments. An offer was at last made by the Chinese to purchase the vessel. This was accepted: the sale took place, and thus ended the scheme, to the great irritation and disappointment of its originators. But, to his lasting credit, Mr. Archibald Little refused to be beaten. By his untiring perseverance and courage, he has recently solved the difficulty of traversing these rapids by steamer; and has run his vessel without accident to Chung-king; thus facilitating trade (chiefly in Manchester goods) throughout the western provinces of Sze-Chuan and Yu-nan, containing a population of fifty millions. This would have been accomplished ten years ago but for the reasons stated above.

At Qwei, above the Lu-can Gorge, we met with the first signs of coal. The natives were working it out of the sides of the hills by galleries, driven horizontally; the seams

being from three to four feet thick. The coal was of poor quality with impressions of plants upon some portions. It was pounded up, mixed with water and loam, and sent to market in the form of bricks. The scenery of these gorges, of which Wu-shan is the longest (about 20 miles) is very grand. We seemed, as we entered, to leave daylight behind us, so dark and dreary was the look-out ahead. The width of the stream in many parts was not more than 150 yards, and the precipices of dark gray limestone are from 700 to 900 feet in height. It was a relief to emerge from the Wind-box or Bellows-gorge, into the light of day, arriving at Quai-chau a few miles beyond. From this city to Wan (50 miles) coal is worked for in many parts, and the specimens we obtained proved to be anthracite. In this district, and for some hundred miles beyond, the poppy is plentifully cultivated, and the opium is of better quality than that of Malwa. After the gathering of this crop, Indian corn, wheat, rice and sugar-cane are planted. Above Wan, the river widens: the hills recede from the banks, and the country affords an extensive prospect. Wide shingle flats exist, and are worked for gold. Between Wan and Chung-king are several coal and iron mines, and iron smelting-works were in action. Long open reaches, with deep water, were passed, as we steered our upward course; and gold washings were numerous.

Before reaching Fu, at the mouth of the Kung-tan-Ho, we found limestone in kilns, producing excellent lime; also coal, cropping out from under the sandstone. Iron was here worked. Above Chung-king the river is navigable for upwards of 300 miles for steamers properly constructed, having a stern wheel.

Approaching Lu-chau we came to extensive shallows of gravel and sand, where numbers of gold-washers were at work. These stretches, when the river is low, are let out in sections by Government; and the washers are able to obtain sufficient gold to pay the tax, and also to save a small sum. The Fu-sung river falls into the Yang-tsze

near Lu-chau, and the gold is supposed to be washed from the hills whence the river springs.

Ten miles below the city of Su-chau (situated at the confluence of the Min-Kiang and the Yang-tsze (1,750 statute miles from Wu-Sung), we arrived at the great coal-mines of Pa-ko-shan, where specimens of true bituminous coal were obtained; and on examination it was proved that this coal was superior to that found in any other part of the river we had yet explored, and, under the action of heat, it was far more combustile. Extensive mining was being carried on by the horizontal galleries already described, and yielding larger blocks. Iron is also found in this neighbourhood. After ascending 25 miles above Su-chau, we came to the Great Coal-gorge (so named by us). This is 14 miles long; the cliffs on either side being from 500 to 600 feet in height. The coal-seams crop out from these precipices; and at every turn the galleries were being worked by the natives, some of these being 400 feet above the level of the river. The coal is sent down in baskets on two permanent taut ropes, to the junks below; the empties being carried up by the weight of the descending load. At some places the height at which the coal is worked is so great that two or more of these contrivances are necessary: one bringing down the coal to a halfway landing, and the other thence to the river. A very large quantity of coal is worked in this gorge, and is supposed to be anthracite. A vast number of junks transport the coal to Su-chau, thence ascending the river Min to Ching-Tu, the capital of Sze-chuan.

From what we observed between the banks of the river, little doubt was left in our minds that the country was rich in iron, coal, and gold; also little fear of any want of good steam coal for our navy; believing, as we did, that this great coal-field was sufficient (if properly worked) to supply the navies of the world. The distance from these coal-fields to Wu-sung is great; but with well-constructed barges, and a stream running from four to seven miles an hour, the coal could be conveyed thither in 30 days.

I refer those who are interested in the geography and navigation of the waters of the upper Yang-tsze to the chart made from the survey of the late Captain Blakiston, R.A. by John Arrowsmith—now the Admiralty chart. On this are minutely laid down the shoals, depths of water by soundings, names of towns and cities, their latitude and longitude, and respective distances, the heights of the surrounding hills, the position of rapids and gorges, the strength of the current, the exact location of the coal and iron mines, etc., an invaluable and indispensable guide to the steam-navigators of the upper waters of the Yang-tsze-Kiang as far as Ping-Shan.

It is, however, of the greatest importance that the coal mines of the upper Yangtsze should be carefully exploited, so that their true value may be ascertained, and ourselves rendered independent of other sources for our supply. Moreover, it is absolutely necessary that our influence in this region should be maintained, and the concessions of the Chinese Government insisted upon, otherwise our position in the country commercially and politically will be lost. The Sze-chuan junk-men, who are a numerous and strong body, may become troublesome, now that steamers are introduced on the upper waters of the river. Theirs is a well-founded apprehension of losing their occupation; but their junks being specially built for the navigation of the rapids and the crews well inured to the work, both could be utilized and ample employment afforded in carrying coal from the fields to Sha-Si, where their voyage ends. Thence the coal could be transhipped either into steam colliers or junks adapted for the lower waters of the Yangtsze, and conveyed to Wu-sang. These river-sailors would then be without a grievance.

NEW CHINA.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

["To acknowledge one's incapacity is the way to be soon prepared to teach others ; for from the moment that a man is no longer full of himself, nor puffed up with empty pride, whatever good he learns in the morning he practises before night."—CONFUCIUS.]

CHINA is like a revived mastodon dazed by the glare of the 19th century. Her contemporaries,—ancient Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, Babylonia, Media, Persia, Judæa, Greece, and Rome,—have all decayed and died. Indeed, at the time when the Pharaohs were building the pyramids, China had a settled government and a high state of civilization. A nation which gave the world the mariner's compass, porcelain, gunpowder, the art of printing, silk and tea, which built the Great Wall, and which has subsisted through many vicissitudes for the last five thousand years without losing its essential characteristics, cannot be said to be devoid of vitality or the powers of recuperation. The Chinese are an industrious and peaceful race with no aggressive tendencies, but with a clear conception of the rights and duties imposed by the five kinds of relationship in life, viz. : that between sovereign and subject, between parent and child, between brother and brother, between husband and wife, and between friend and friend. If only they can have peace for a decade or two, hopes may be entertained that they will be able to shake off some of the fetters of conservatism with which they are now so tightly bound.

China, with her teeming millions, is a self-contained country. Her varied climate, fauna and flora, her agricultural and mineral wealth, and her manufactures, make her independent of the supplies from foreign countries. This is the reason why the charge of exclusiveness has been so persistently urged against her. She is a world unto herself, and she needed no intercourse with other countries for the

exchange either of art or commerce. Owing, however, to the facilities of communication of modern times, and the necessity to exchange commodities of other countries less favourably conditioned than herself, foreign merchants knocked at her door, and they had to knock loud and clamorously and to use force and violence before they could gain admission. Foreign commerce was at first restricted to a few ports, and their number has since been increased either by diplomacy or war. It is an irony of fate that the rights of commerce thus acquired by Foreign Powers have been of greater advantage to the Chinese themselves than to foreigners. The producers, middlemen and consumers are Chinese, and the foreign merchant supplies the brains and the capital. This fact must have been considered by the Chinese Government when it recently yielded to the representation of the British Minister to open the internal waterways of China to trade and navigation by steamers, and to open a port in Hunan within two years. The effect of this arrangement will be remarkable, as it will bring prosperity, security and happiness to thousands of Chinamen inhabiting great stretches of land-locked tracts; and as it will bring in a handsome additional revenue to the Central Government wherewith more works of public utility can be undertaken.

Under the existing circumstances, when the education, culture, energy, resources, and military equipments of Europe dominate the other Continents, it behoves China to study closely European politics and the deliberations of the Cabinets at London, Paris, Berlin and St. Petersburg regarding the destiny of the Far East. The late Marquis Tseng was wise enough to discuss the foreign policy of China in his famous article on "China: the Sleep and the Awakening," which was published in this Review in January, 1887. Had his life been prolonged on his return to Peking, some of his ideas would doubtless have been realized, and he might also have left the impress of his genius on the internal administration of China.

Circumstances, however, have altered very much since the time of the Marquis. China is no longer an independent Power respected by foreign nations, but a *quantité négligeable* to be buffeted about and treated with contumely and humiliation. Russia, France and Austria on one hand form a coalition to rival that formed by England, Germany, Japan and the United States on the other. China's continued existence is due to the conflict of interest of these Powers, and to her being an excellent market for the produce of European, American and Japanese workmen. Indeed, had it not been for the recent pronouncement by England of the Monroe doctrine on behalf of China, no one could say what would have become of that ancient empire during the last few months.

The Chino-Japanese war of 1894-95 affected the balance of power in the Far East. China had hitherto been looked upon as a possible ally by England and Russia, but the mismanagement of her operations brought her into a contemptible position in the family of nations. The wave of Russianism hitherto checked by the Chinese barrier, has swept down towards the sea, and England, which annulled the Treaty of St. Stefano in 1878 and which caused the Russians to turn back from Constantinople, found herself face to face with the Colossus of the North eager to help himself out of the inheritance of another "sick man" of the East.

Having passed comparatively scatheless through the diplomatic throes during the period subsequent to the war with Japan, China may be said to have had a new birth and may be spoken of now as "New China." At the present time, she cannot be said to have any foreign policy at all, and even if she has any, she is liable to coercion by foreign influences. It is expedient, therefore, that she should pay more attention to her domestic policy and set her house in order. She should take to heart the significant declaration of Mr. Curzon made in the House of Commons on the 1st March last, that "British policy was to prevent or post-

pone the disruption of China as long as possible." Unless her domestic administration is sound, unless she rules a prosperous and contented people, and unless she controls a full treasury and commands a high credit, her disruption or subjection to foreign sway must ensue as certain as the night follows the day. Outsiders are apt to fancy that China would be better governed under European domination ; but it must be remembered that, even under the best of European Governments established over an alien people, the ancient historic process of " *victa victrix* " would now be impossible, and that want of community of thought and sentiment, religion and custom, as well as racial prejudice, would be an ever-present barrier between the rulers and the ruled. Further, the substitution of law and rigid justice for fancy and arbitrary caprice, is apt to breed discontent, disaffection, and disloyalty, and to lead to the popular belief that a liberal scope is not afforded to the realization of legitimate aspirations by natives.

China is a vast congeries of federated States rather than a united Empire welded into a harmonious whole. The difference in speech, customs and habits between one province and another, and the long period during which local autonomy has been permitted, render it expedient to proceed with caution in the introduction of useful reforms. Now that the internal revenues of the Liang-chiang and Che-chiang are to be placed under the management of the Maritime Customs Department for the liquidation of the loan of 16 millions sterling made to China by the Hong-kong and Shanghai Bank and the German Asiatic Bank, it appears to be high time for the provincial authorities to avail themselves of the assistance of the foreign Customs officials in adopting other reforms in addition to those that are purely fiscal. The Customs Department, ably presided over by Sir Robert Hart, may be looked upon not only as the mainstay of China in her troubles, but also as an efficient medium for the introduction of Executive, Legislative and Administrative reforms. China has agreed that

the Head of the Customs Department shall be a British subject so long as British trade with China at the ports continues to exceed that of any other Power. The security of tenure thus guaranteed would enable the Inspector-General to make his voice heard more effectively at least in fiscal matters relating to foreign trade, and to leave Peking as occasion requires. It has been suggested that the headquarters of the Customs Department should be removed to Shanghai, where it would be in touch with the progressive foreign community. It would, perhaps, be well for the Inspector-General to stay six months at the Capital and the rest of the year at Shanghai. At the latter place he could initiate legislation relating to customs and shipping matters, and also to matters connected with land and the assessment and collection of internal revenue in respect of the Liang-chiang and Che-chiang Provinces. Procedure in shipping matters has not been legalized, and public life and property are much in jeopardy owing to the absence of any law regarding merchant shipping. The creation of a Legislative Council by the Inspector-General, and the confirmation of all laws made by sovereign authority, would afford an object-lesson to the Chinese Government as to the manner and method of making laws and regulations for the Empire. The secret of the stability of a Government and the contentment and prosperity of its subjects is the establishment of the supremacy of law, and the secret of the marvellous success of the British Government both at home and abroad is its capacity for making excellent laws and regulations after due consultation, deliberation and discussion. Legislators like Macaulay, Maine, and Stephen, who revolutionized the law of India and introduced into it scientific, liberal and philosophical principles coupled with perspicacity, precision and terseness of language, would be able to confer upon China greater good than a Gordon, Tseng Kuo Fan, Tso Tsung T'ang, or Li Hung Chang in the arena of war, politics or diplomacy.

The most urgent law now required is that relating to

printing presses and newspapers. The Press is acknowledged to be the fourth estate in the West, and its influence over the counsels of the nation is remarkable. Indeed, newspapers, pamphlets and books may be looked upon as the ear, eye and heart of a nation, and through them Governments can feel the national pulse. At Shanghai and elsewhere, there are Chinese newspapers whose editors are so ignorant of the noble character of their profession as to blackmail Mandarins and respectable merchants for refraining from publishing things derogatory to their reputation. Legislation alone can impose a fitting penalty on such delinquents and at the same time can direct national aspirations to flow in proper channels and to be realized in a quiet and satisfactory way.

It is generally admitted that the Provincial Governments are strong, while the Central Government at Peking is weak. It is expedient that the relations between the Imperial and Provincial Governments should be clearly defined, especially with reference to the amount of money to be contributed by each Province towards Imperial charges. If it is considered to be derogatory to borrow the services of experienced Indian officials to help in the reformation of the internal administration of China, the Chinese Government might well send a Commission to India to study and report on her administrative methods, which have now become the marvel of the civilized world. Some years ago Russia sent a similar Commission to study the workings of the Indian Post Office, and Australia also sent one to report on Indian irrigation. In the construction of works of public utility like roads, telegraphs, railways, and irrigation works, India presents an unrivalled field of observation. The question of controlling the vagaries of the Huang Ho river, the "Sorrow of China," can only be solved by engaging the services of Indian engineers or by applying Indian methods.

In the matter of creating a Legislative Council for the Empire, the expediency of the Tsungli Yamen undertaking

the discussion of all Bills, draft regulations, and annual Budgets may be considered. The members of the Yamen are all high officials holding substantive administrative appointments elsewhere, and having the right of access to the Emperor; and of all Mandarins they are the most permeated with Western ideas and sentiments. It may also be considered whether each Viceroy should not be assisted by a Provincial Legislative Council.

The salvation of China and her continued existence as an independent nation depend upon the immediate reformation, above all, of her legislative and financial methods of administration, and upon the manner in which the virile intelligence and collective wisdom of the nation, as represented by the new-born Press, guide the policy of the Government and help it in its onerous work of administration. Unless a sentiment of honour, patriotism, good sense and moderation are manifested both by Mandarins and newspaper editors and writers of books, the future of China cannot but be a gloomy one, and her well-wishers cannot but be filled with anxious forebodings.

As most accounts of China in the newspapers and journals are tinged with a considerable amount of pessimism, it is pleasant to turn to the pages of Mr. Consul Jamieson's *Report on the revenue and expenditure of the Chinese Empire*.* The annual revenue of China is said to be 88,979,000 taels, of which the land tax amounts to 25,088,000, and the salt gabel to 13,952,000. Comparing the revenue of China with that of India, the two countries being similar in population and area (although the climate and resources of the former are more favourable), the land tax should amount to 100,000,000 and the salt gabel to 33,000,000 if the agency employed is adequately paid and efficiently supervised, and if the system of collection is regulated by proper laws and rules. Further, the duty and likin on native opium which at present amount to 2,229,000 taels, are capable of an appreciable increase, considering the

* Published as Foreign Office Misc. Series No. 415 of 1897.

increasing area under poppy cultivation, and the fact that China has now begun to export opium. The information on the annual expenditure is not complete, but it is considered that it just balances the revenue. Out of the expenditure the sum of 5,000,000 taels is debited to the Board of Admiralty (northern squadron), 500,000 to railway construction, and 1,500,000 to public works, Yellow River embankments, sea wall, etc. Since the northern squadron was destroyed by the Japanese in 1894-95, the first item is now a saving; the second should be increased as much as possible, because railways are productive works; and the third should be subjected to a closer scrutiny by skilled engineers. The annual cost of Metropolitan administration, Manchu garrisons, and the Imperial Household is 19,478,000 taels. It is well known that the charges on account of the Imperial Household are exorbitant. It is said that in the accounts eggs and flowers are charged at a tael a piece, and there must be other most extravagant charges. In short, a more careful examination of the accounts will apparently reduce the expenditure and effect considerable savings. On the whole, there is every reason to suppose that under a proper system of check, scrutiny and control, the financial future of China is a bright one, and that more money will be available for the construction of roads, railways, telegraphs, irrigation works, public buildings, schools, colleges, etc. At present much useless expenditure is incurred in connection with financial administration by the employment of expectant officials, by the overlapping of similar systems of collecting customs and transit dues, and in the transport of rice and specie to Peking. A wider scope might be afforded to private enterprise in this last matter.

The absence of Imperial or Provincial Budgets of revenue and expenditure goes a long way in undermining the confidence of the people in the Government and in depreciating the credit of China in foreign money markets. Unless the outside public knows how much money is received by

Government, how much is spent on reasonable and useful objects, and that there is a guarantee for the careful disbursement of public funds, the Chinese people and foreign capitalists will hesitate to have pecuniary dealings with the Chinese Government.

Chinese civilization, like its massive literature, is self-developed, and has few borrowings, if any, from other countries. The importance accorded to family ties and to mutual co-operation has dispensed with the necessity of Poor Laws, and the obligation imposed upon the nation of obedience and loyalty to constituted authority has spared the Empire much bloodshed and rebellion. That the system has faults of its own is undeniable, but that it has also its merits is evidenced by the stability through long ages of the Chinese as a nation. Few Westerners can appreciate this system of civilization of hoary antiquity, because the majority of them fail to understand a people outside the pale of European civilization, which has mainly been moulded into its present condition by the faith of Palestine, the poetry and philosophy of Greece, and the civil law of Rome.

It has been observed that the Chinese emigrants settled under a European flag as in Hongkong, Tongking, the Straits Settlements, and the Dutch Indies, possess a marked tendency to improve their intellectual and social status. Their powers of combination, their innate capacity for trade, their energy and resource, and above all, the European system of rule which accords them security of life and property and freedom of thought and speech, and which fosters individualism rather than communism, always enable them to attain a position superior to that of the natives of the country ; and the position thus achieved by them is a standing wonder to European travellers. The marked difference of condition between the Chinese at home and their expatriated brethren abroad, may chiefly be attributed to the difference in the system of Government under which they live. Now that Europe and America are taking

a real interest in China, and that the Chinese themselves are convinced that, unless they march with the times and borrow from the West some of the laws and institutions in return for the several boons conferred by China upon the world at large, the advancement of the country along the path of progress, as understood by Westerners, may be regarded as fully assured.

Pearson,* after surveying the world "from China to Peru," is of opinion that, in the coming centuries, the white race will be confined to the Temperate Zone, its mission being limited to the exercise of the faculty of organization and the evolution of peace and order, and that the black and yellow races will spread themselves more and more over the remaining habitable portions of the globe. This prediction may or may not be realized in the dim future; but it may be noted, by the way, that the yellow race as represented by the Chinese and Japanese, is much superior to the black race as represented by Hindus, Indian Muhammadans, and negroes, in culture, mental and industrial capacity, physical endurance, adaptability to environment, and capability of being acclimatised in any part of the world, and that the yellow race possesses a homogeneity, more or less, of faith, language, custom, and habits of thought, which is admittedly denied to the black race. If there is to be any struggle for racial supremacy in the coming ages, it must apparently be between the white and the yellow races, *i.e.* to say, between the Teuton (including the Anglo-Saxon) and the Mongolian, the Russian being a cross between the two, and as such holding the balance of power. However, China is essentially an industrial country, and there is every reason to believe that the development of her militarism by contact with Western influences will not be abnormal, unless it is accelerated by foreign domination. Pearson's generalizations are, indeed, far-reaching, and the following extract†

* Author of *National Life and Character*.

† Pages 118-119 of edition of 1894.

from his book may be quoted as an appropriate conclusion of this article :

“ We have compelled her (China) to come into the fellowship of nations. She has adopted steamers, and European artillery and army organization : she has accepted the telegraph ; she is about to introduce railways ; and she has credit enough to carry out the changes she needs with foreign capital. On three sides of her lie countries that she may easily seize, over which very often she has some old claim, and in the climate of which her people can live. Flexible as Jews, they can thrive on the mountain plateau of Thibet, and under the sun of Singapore ; more versatile even than Jews, they are excellent labourers, and not without merit as soldiers and sailors ; while they have a capacity for trade which no other nation of the East possesses. They do not need even the accident of a man of genius to develop their magnificent future. Ordinary statesmanship, adopting the improvements of Europe without offending the customs and prejudices of the people, may make them a State which no Power in Europe will dare to disregard ; with an army which could march by fixed stages across Asia : and a fleet which could hold its own against any the strongest of the European Powers could afford to keep permanently in Chinese waters.”

JUDICIAL ADMINISTRATION OF EGYPT FROM THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH SIDE.*

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

THE report made by Sir John Scott, on the eve of his retirement from the important function of control of the native civil and criminal courts in Egypt, contains much matter of deep interest to statesmen and lawyers. Short and practical and devoid of all attempt to display the results up to date of a difficult but successful administration, it proves that much has been done to amend the working of the native courts, and to infuse a purer tone, without breaking away from the existing system of Oriental custom, modified by procedure derived from France.

It is well known that Sir John Scott has always wisely avoided the temptation usually dangled before reformers of planning a new building after digging up even the old foundations. He had indeed to put new wine into old bottles, but he did this slowly and carefully. Every change had to be somehow made to appear advisable to the native mind and to the statesmen and jurists, many of them foreigners, who had a voice in such matters; and here Sir John Scott's patience and learning, his facility in European languages, and his other diplomatic qualities, proved valuable in the extreme.

Having served as a Judge in India, he introduced some procedures which had worked well in that dependency; but he used the terms of French law and modified them to suit the Egyptian code. Thus escaping pedantry and backed by the powerful influence of Lord Cromer, he kept on improving the system he had to control; and by going on tours of inspection found out the actual state of the courts, and kept himself in personal touch with the interior.

* Rapport sur les Tribunaux Indigènes, présenté par M. le Conseiller Judiciaire (Sir John Scott, K.C.M.G.), Années 1896-1897. Ministère de la Justice, Cairo, 1898.

The Report announces that the native courts continued to progress in 1897. Criminal acts are divided into crimes, *délits* and contraventions. Crimes have fallen in six years from 2,625 to 1,424; and, as in England, serious crimes especially show a great reduction. The contrast of 1897 with 1896 is notable, and is assigned to better police organization. It is hinted that the Cairo police are too zealous in prosecuting petty matters. Some tribunals are too lenient in grave matters, the Judges being rather eager to find extenuating circumstances. The Courts of Appeal have sometimes, like the Indian High Courts, to increase the sentence and even reverse acquittals.

It has been found expedient to replace the native Procureur Général by a European. The choice of Corbet Bey has been well received by all classes. Decisions are promptly given; and the public confidence in the native courts increases. There remains room for improvement in the officers of courts and in the advocates. Important civil cases are still generally brought in the Mixed Tribunals, although the fees in the native courts have been reduced. Some of the latter have, however, far too much to do; and Sir John Scott advises that certain heads of villages should be given a jurisdiction up to 100 P.T., equivalent to about £1 sterling, so that the State as well as the parties and witnesses should be saved time and money. He has seen cases of a very petty nature in Upper Egypt where the witnesses were taken away from their own businesses for three days at a time. He would subject the village courts to the committee of control, and require them to keep registers.

To give quicker finality Sir John Scott has for some years desired that convictions in cases of manifest theft, slight injuries to the body and other small matters, should not be open to appeal. He would safeguard the liberty of the subject with what the French call *cassation*, the same enormous powers of interference which the High Courts of India exercise on rare occasions.

Jurists of Bentham's school, and indeed most English lawyers, will be glad to hear that the law of evidence in capital cases has been altered, so that sentence of death may now be passed upon general presumptions or proofs, Article 32 having been abrogated. This Article used to require that there must be either a confession of the prisoner or the testimony of two eye-witnesses. But this led to failures of justice, confessions being rare and murders seldom happening when two persons were looking on. The notion was that the rule belonged to Mahomedan law. But it was shown to the Khedive's Government that in other Mussalman countries no such law obtained ; and after many researches in the works of the best commentators, the Government became satisfied that the repeal of Article 32 would in no sense conflict with the law of the Prophet.

The next subject of importance is the reform of the courts held by the Cadies. Here the procedure and rules of evidence have been simplified by abolishing exclusions. Care was taken not to go contrary to the religious law ; and what was done has been warmly approved by both the people and the Cadies. With the increase of wealth and order, greater learning and precision are demanded from these indigenous officers. Sir John Scott, evidently following all experience in India, proposes to increase the learned qualification of candidates and at the same time to secure better men by raising the modest stipends.

This valuable report concludes with a suggestion of political as well as judicial importance. The five years' period of the Mixed Tribunals comes to an end next February ; and the Khedive has already proposed to the Powers some alterations in their *loi organique*. Sir John Scott considers the interpretation of Art. 9 to be of the greatest moment. It runs thus :—"Ces tribunaux connaîtront seuls de toutes les contestations en matière civile et commerciale entre indigènes et étrangers, et entre étrangers de nationalités différentes, en dehors du statut personnel. Ils connaîtront aussi de toutes les actions

réelles immobilières entre toutes personnes même appartenant à la même nationalité."

Sir John Scott argues that the intention of the makers of this law is clearly expressed; the Powers meant to confine the Mixed Tribunals to causes where the parties belonged to different nations. But in a series of decisions based on the phrase *mixed interest*, these tribunals have gone far beyond the jurisdiction conferred. There may have been some excuse when the country had no local courts of any value; this excuse exists no longer, nor since the year 1884 when the native tribunals were established. Sir John Scott ends his report with the following opinion:—"The native tribunals of to-day are working in a satisfactory manner; and it is to be hoped that the Powers will accept the proposals of the Egyptian Government found in its recent circular, proposals meant to permit Egypt to dispense justice to her suitors in her own tribunals and according to her own laws, with the single restriction which results from the limits imposed by the true interpretation of the organic law of the Mixed Tribunals."

We conclude with some reflections which may be of use in these times of political rivalry. The substantial justice administered in Egypt is chiefly due to the simple and direct procedure and the efficient system of control, institutions derived from France, for which we give full credit to the learned jurists of that country. At the same time we may justly claim for the high British officials, who had to work them, that they have shown the same practical sense and moderation, the like power of adaptation to unfamiliar circumstances, which have made our Anglo-Indian statesmen successful in similar endeavours.

THE POSITION OF CAPE COLONY IN SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

BY MALCOLM SETON.

ANY visitor to South Africa, who endeavours to enter into colonial affairs, must soon be impressed by the essential unity of the whole region south of the Zambesi. With the exception of a German colony on the Atlantic coast, and a Portuguese province on the eastern sea-board, all South Africa is dominated by British and Dutch, who govern various "Kafir" tribes of the Bantu stock. The earlier inhabitants, Bushmen and Hottentots, although interesting to an ethnologist, may be left out of account in a political survey, because the Bushmen, now nearly extinct, have never possessed a tribal organization, and the Hottentots (who were far behind the Bantu race in political development) have ceased to exist as a nation, except in German Namaqualand, where, however, a systematic policy of extermination of natives appears now to be the ruling principle with the German officials.

But the various events which have tended to prevent cohesion in South Africa are, unhappily, such a familiar story, and the provincial jealousies in the country have at times become so keen, that observers in England are apt to forget that the various boundaries of to-day are purely artificial. The Chief-Justice of the Orange Free State, Mr. Melins de Villiers, has endeavoured to prove that England should not have extended her dominions beyond the Orange River. But, since British territories now stretch to Tanganyika, the chief, though unforeseen, effect of his protest was to advertise the fact that two brothers hold the highest judicial office in Cape Colony and the Orange Free State respectively, and to suggest the reflection that, if such a circumstance is possible, there cannot be any impassable gulf between the institutions of Colonial and Republican South Africa.

The object of this paper is to offer a few remarks on the present position of Cape Colony, which, although the mother-state of South Africa, has not recently attracted so much attention in England as the more turbulent regions of the Transvaal and Matabeleland.

Cape Colony occupies an interesting place in African politics. The Dutch of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State have, for the most part, kinsmen living in the older colony. The Englishmen of the Eastern Province of the Cape (who owe their position to the State-aided emigration of 1820 which founded Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown) have many bonds, social and commercial, with the Englishmen of Natal, Johannesburg, and Rhodesia. And yet, until Mr. Rhodes (whose general policy it is not proposed to discuss in this place) took the lead in Cape affairs, the other portions of South Africa were suffered to develop almost independently of the Cape. But, during the last few years, Cape Colony has annexed Southern Bechuanaland (some time a Crown Colony), and the native territory Pondoland (on which Natal was supposed to entertain designs), and the men of the Cape have entered heartily into the policy of "expansion northwards." The Orange Free State entered into a Customs Convention with Cape Colony, but this event threw into greater prominence the commercial rivalry between the Cape and Natal. Natal had arranged a liberal tariff in order to attract to herself the bulk of the carrying trade to Johannesburg, and, until quite lately, the Cape policy has consisted, to put it bluntly, of a series of attempts to boycott Natal. President Kruger played with consummate skill upon the rivalry of the two British colonies, but the one satisfactory result of the series of unfortunate events connected with the Jameson Raid, has been to draw Natal and Cape Colony more closely together.

The most important of the changes at present taking place at the Cape is the disintegration of the "Afrikander Bond." This association (which is confined within the

limits of Cape Colony) was founded by Dutch Afrikaners at a time of political excitement in the early eighties, and was marked at first by Republican ideas and sympathy with the Transvaal Boers. But, as the Constitution of the Bond contained no disloyal articles, a number of Englishmen and Scotchmen by degrees became members, one of the first of whom was Sir James Sivewright. The result of this has been that the Bond is now fatally divided against itself. There is a Republican section, an Extreme Left, but, under the stress of recent events, the moderate Centre has sharply dissociated itself from the Extremists. Under Mr. Hofmeyr's leadership, the Bond for some time held the casting vote in Cape affairs: it insisted upon a Conservative or reactionary policy in such matters as Protection and treatment of native questions, it found for some of its members seats in each successive Cabinet (although no Ministry consisted entirely of "Bondmen"), and it dominated the colony. Mr. Rhodes succeeded in obtaining the support of the Bond, as a whole, for his northern policy, but for this support he paid the heavy price of managing internal affairs upon "Bond" ideas, and thus, to some extent, alienating the "Progressive" politicians. The short-sighted policy of President Kruger (or Dr. Leyds) in filling the Transvaal with Hollander* officials, imported from Europe to the partial exclusion of the many Cape Afrikaners who would gladly have accepted posts in the service of the South African Republic, and in discriminating against Cape produce, has offended many of the Cape Dutch, and strengthened the moderate Centre of the Bond. Consequently, when affairs came to a crisis, the Bond could not speak with a single voice. As a political engine, it has ceased to exist. Some of the Bond members of the Cape

* A "Hollander" is a Dutchman born in Holland; an "Afrikaner" is *any white man* born in Africa, but, as a matter of usage, the word generally denotes a person of Dutch (or French-Dutch) blood. But there is no fixed rule: thus the "Afrikaner Taal" is the patois spoken by the Cape Dutch, but the "Afrikaner Bond" is an association open to all colonists of European blood, even if born in Europe.

Parliament have always looked to the Transvaal for guidance (these gentlemen have, since they found their inspiration in a foreign country, been nick-named "Ultramontanes" by the *Cape Times*—a pedantic epithet which no one in South Africa understands). This accounts for the very irrelevant vote of sympathy with the Irish "political" prisoners passed a few years ago by the Cape Legislative Council, which was really an attempt on the part of the oligarchy at Pretoria to call the attention of Downing Street to the supposed beam in its own eye, if one may use, for a moment, the Scriptural language so dear to the Boers. But these Extremists are in a minority, and, if we may gauge future events in the Cape by the recent elections for the Legislative Council (hitherto the stronghold of the anti-English party) the various "Progressive" sections in Cape Colony will soon be masters of the situation.

But this situation is complicated by the fact that the "Progressives" are by no means homogeneous. The town populations, who have not a fair proportion of representatives in the Legislative Assembly, are inclined to coquet with Free Trade, feeling that since South Africa* cannot feed itself, it is useless to maintain high meat and corn Customs duties (which bear very hardly on the people of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth) for the benefit of a somewhat unenterprising community of farmers. But the English farmers of the Eastern Province, where the South African League is strong, are attached to Protection, and are "Progressives" merely because they dislike the Bond. The South African League, which has very loyal and laudable purposes in view, has an unfortunate taste for

* South Africa has never produced enough corn for its own support. There has always been a considerable import of meat, and, since the rinderpest has wrought such havoc amongst cattle, this import has increased greatly. It is not the fault of the African farmers that their cattle have died of rinderpest, but their general want of enterprise is shown by the fact that, although South Africa is one of the finest fruit countries in the world, and (in Natal) produces sugar of its own, it imports annually a large amount of jam from England. Probably the next few years will see great development in matters of this kind.

Jingoism or "flag-wagging," as it is called at the Cape. It is unfortunate, but very natural. "Gentlemen in England who live at home in ease" can hardly understand the bitterness with which loyal Englishmen in South Africa regarded the surrender after Majuba, and the consequent arrogance (by no means abated) of the more ignorant of the Dutch Boers. But there has been so much intermarriage at the Cape, and the fortunes of Dutch and English are now so inextricably linked, that all moderate men regard the mere thought of a racial war amongst white people as preposterous.

The foundation of Rhodesia, in which Dutch and English, Cape, Natal, Free State, and Transvaal have shared, has done something, and will do more to consolidate the people of European race in South Africa. It is unfortunate that this solidarity should have been manifested in a war against Kafirs, largely provoked by mismanagement, but there is, unhappily, no such effectual solvent of the heterogeneous elements of a white population as a war against a black race.

Meanwhile, in the Cape itself, a silent economic revolution is at work. Many of the Dutch farmers, unable or unwilling to adopt improved methods, and fettered by want of capital, are being forced to abandon their holdings. Some of these men take up vacant lands in Bechuanaland, others drift to the towns, a few sink to the almost savage state of "Trek-Boers"—landless outcasts, squatting on corners of farms, without means or civilization or hope. The old-fashioned Dutch farmer requires a holding of some 6,000 acres of pasture land if he is to make a living, and he cannot, in the face of immigration and increased prices, remain master of such great expanses. Immigration (discouraged by the Afrikaner Bond) has been mainly to the towns, but it is plain that it is required for the land. Unfortunately, a capital of at least £1,000 is required for successful farming in Cape Colony, and few British farmers are equipped for such an undertaking. Meanwhile, the lot of the smaller

Dutch farmer, elbowed out of his home by new industrial conditions, is both pitiable and alarming. Germans will work on the land in Cape Colony: Englishmen will not. Thus, while Germans make market-gardening pay, Englishmen depend on inefficient native labour, and fail.

The native question in the Cape is so involved with the wider native question throughout South Africa that it cannot be handled at present in the space at our disposal. But it may be said that the Cape will have some day to adopt a uniform system in native affairs. At present the Kafirs of the Transkei territories live under the tribal system, supervised by Resident Magistrates. The non-tribal natives of Cape Colony proper are, if they possess a sufficient property-qualification, allowed the Parliamentary Franchise. Certain districts are under the Glen Grey Act: that is, the young Kafirs must, under pain of heavy taxation, go out and work (generally at Kimberley or Johannesburg). But, by two or three years' work, these young Kafirs earn enough money to buy several wives, and live in idleness watching these wives hoe their land, drinking beer, and eventually adding to their income by the sale of their daughters in marriage. Polygamy and "lobola" (sale of girls as wives) work great evils, but the Cape Government, wisely, is very cautious in interfering with native customs.* It is to be hoped that drastic Liquor Legislation (hitherto blocked by the influence of the Western Province grape-farmers in the Legislative

* It is worthy of remark that the Cape Government has managed to abate the evils connected with polygamy among the considerable Moslem "Malay" population of the coast towns (a community of mixed blood, but descended mainly from slaves brought from Java in the days of the old Dutch East India Company). Without actually prohibiting polygamy amongst Moslems, the courts recognise the children of the first-married wife alone as entitled to inherit. The "Malays" of the Dutch colonies have never been allowed to live under Mohammedan law, and, at the Cape, the result of this decision of the courts has been to confine polygamy to a few very rich "Malays." But no interference with Kafir custom has taken place, except in the case of certain grossly immoral or brutally savage practices.

Council) will soon remove the most crying evil in native life.

The question of Asiatic immigration, which is important in Natal, has hardly affected the Cape as yet. But public opinion in the case sympathizes with the recent Natal legislation, and thinks that the action of Natal in preventing the immigration of peaceful British subjects is exactly parallel with the protest of the Cape against the introduction of convicts from England.

This survey of Cape affairs is of necessity partial and incomplete, but it is hoped that enough has been said to show that there are other features of interest in South Africa besides the speculative ingenuity and political deadlocks of Johannesburg, and the much-debated native questions of Rhodesia. Johannesburg and Buluwayo absorb so much of the newspapers, that Cape affairs are often neglected by critics, and, though no question in Africa really stands alone, it is useful, on occasion, to separate certain matters from their context, and to study the part before attempting to understand the whole.

THE CROWN COLONIES IN ASIA IN 1898.

BY G. R. BADENOCH, LL.D.

ABOUT two hundred years ago, a Committee of the Privy Council was appointed to take charge of Colonial affairs,—first under the name of the “Council of Foreign Plantations,”—afterwards, as the “Council of Trade and Plantations.” This was suppressed in 1677, but in 1695 it was reconstituted, and continued till 1782, consisting of eight members of Parliament at a salary each of £1,000 a year, under the control of a “Secretary of State.” On the loss of the United States, the Council was abolished, and Colonial affairs were placed under a branch of the Home Department. In accordance with Burke’s Act, a “Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations” was created, to which in 1786 the business of the Colonies was transferred. Afterwards the Secretary of State for Home affairs became “Secretary for War,” and nominally Secretary of State for the Colonies, but in 1801 Lord Hobart became “Secretary of State for War and the Home Department,” the “Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations” gradually ceasing its connection with Colonial matters. During the past forty-five years, however, there has been a separate “Colonial Secretary.”

Our vast Colonial Empire, scattered over almost every part of the world, has forty distinct and independent Governments, eleven of which have elected assemblies and responsible governments,—the rest, viz., twenty-nine may be classified under (1) having no Legislative Council, but a government by an officer appointed by the Crown; (2) a Legislative Council appointed by the Crown; and (3) a Legislative Council partly elected. These are exclusive of territories under the control of Companies, or Protectorates, possessing Charters under the Crown. Vast additions have been made to the Empire during the reign of Victoria, and their populations are rapidly increasing. The self-governing Colonies possess about 12 millions, the Colonies directly under the “Home department”

have about a similar number, and the area, including India, is ninety-one times that of the Home Country, being over eleven million square miles. Excluding Australasia, which we described in our last issue,* they may be grouped under Asia, Africa, America, West Indies, and Europe.

ASIA.

The Colonies under this group are Ceylon, Hong-Kong, Straits Settlement, Malay States, Labuan, North Borneo, and Sarawak, covering an area of about 126,500 square miles, possessing at present an estimated population of about 5,000,000.

1. *Ceylon.*

This island, in the Indian Ocean, stretches from North to South 266 miles, and from East to West 140 miles, being about equal in area to Holland and Belgium. West of Ceylon there are a group of islets, tributary to it, called the Máldive Archipelago, with a population of 30,000. Ceylon is divided into nine Provinces, each presided over by a Government Agent, who with his subalterns act as the channel of communication between the Government and the people. The Government itself is administered by a Governor aided by an Executive Council of five members, and a Legislative Council of seventeen. The climate is comparatively healthy. The population is 3,000,000, increasing at the rate of 14 per cent. in a decade, of whom 8,000 are Europeans, 21,000 Burghers and Eurasians, 200,000 Moormen, 10,000 Malays, 2,000,000 Sinhalese, and 750,000 Tamils. Half the population profess the religion of Buddha, one-fifth are Hindoos, 200,000 are Mohammedans, and 300,000 Christians. The products are rice and other grains, coffee, tea, cinchona, coconuts, cinnamon, tobacco, cocoa. There are plumbago mines, and famous pearl fisheries. The public revenue amounts to £1,373,410; expenditure, £1,329,684. Public Debt, £3,725,165. The total value of Imports, £5,486,755; of which from the United Kingdom £1,329,851, and from

* *Vide* pp. 344-361.

British possessions £3,622,610. The exports £4,279,036, of which the United Kingdom receives £2,951,316, and British possessions £862,514. The island abounds in interesting relics, and rock inscriptions. Its literature is of much interest and value, as may be seen from our pages from time to time with respect to the languages and chronology of India, the Island having been invaded about the fifth century B.C., by Aryans from the Valley of the Ganges, who established the Sinhalese dynasty.

2. Hong-Kong.

Hong-Kong, although a small island of about 29 square miles, at the mouth of the Canton River, is a very important possession for British trade and commerce, and with the opposite peninsula of Kow-loon, and several islets, ceded to Britain in 1861, forms one of the best harbours in the East. The scenery, with its granite hills, towering to the height of 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, equals in wildness the scenery of Scotland and the beauty of Italy. Victoria City, stretching for 4 miles along the base of the hills, contains, with its suburbs, a population of 200,000 inhabitants. This desolate island, with its sparse population of fishermen, was ceded to England in 1841, but did not establish its importance till after the discovery of gold in Australia, and now with its trade and commerce, its emigration and immigration, and the recent concessions of about 200 square miles of waterways and mainland, will in future play a very influential part, not only in developing trade with foreign countries, but also in opening up, by the extraordinary waterways of China, the whole of the vast Continent and contiguous regions. The island of no consequence in itself is the centre of trade in a variety of ways, consisting mainly of opium, sugar, flour, salt, earthenware, oil, amber, cotton, sandalwood, ivory, betel, vegetables, live stock, and granite. The tea and silk trade are largely controlled by the Commercial Houses established here. Its stores supply every description of goods for the supply of shipping. The exports

to foreign countries are more than £25,000,000, and its imports from these countries amount to £20,000,000, of which nearly one-half is with China, and a third with India, consisting mainly of tea, silk, and opium. The docks and slips are furnished with all the necessary appliances for repairing ships of war and merchant vessels. There is a Royal Mint and various Banking Establishments, also several telegraphic lines communicating with all parts of the world, and daily steam communication to various parts of China, besides weekly and monthly communications to foreign countries. The Island possesses a College, and numerous secondary and elementary Schools, and 10 free Government Schools, in 8 of which English is taught. It has been well fortified and has an Imperial garrison of about 3,000 men. The government is administered under Letters Patent of 19 Jany., 1888, by a Governor, also an Executive and Legislative Council, some of whom are nominated by the Crown. Admiralty cases are regulated by the "Colonial Courts Admiralty Act of 1890," and civil cases by the Common Law of England modified by Ordinances codified in 1873. The Revenue is estimated at £2,600,000, and Expenditure £2,400,000. The British tonnage is more than one-half of the whole, being nearly 9,000,000. The public debt is nearly £342,000. The administration of Law and Order is fully equipped, and no fewer than 19 countries throughout the world are represented by Consuls.

3. *Straits Settlements.*

These Settlements, formerly under the control of the Indian Government, but transferred to the "Secretary of State" in 1867, comprise Singapore, Penang and Malacca. The seat of Government is Singapore in the island of the same name, the area of which is about 206 square miles. The chief town of Penang, also an island of about 107 square miles, is George Town. Malacca, a portion of territory on the western coast of the Malay peninsula, is about 659 square miles, and its chief town is Malacca. There is another

portion of the mainland called Dindings, of 266 square miles, in which Limut possesses a good harbour and deep anchorage. The Cocos or Keeling islands were transferred from Ceylon to the Government of the Straits Settlement in 1886, and in 1889 Christmas island was also placed under the same Government. The total area of the Colony, with these dependencies, is about the size of Kent, or about 1,542 square miles. The Government is composed of a Governor and an Executive and a Legislative Council. The penal code is based on that of India, and the civil code on the English Judicature Acts. The climate is fairly equable. The population, which is gradually increasing, was 512,342 at the last census of 1891. The ports are wholly free from duties, and the chief exports consist of tin, sugar, pepper, nutmegs, mace, sago, tapioca, rice, buffalo hides and horns, rattans, gutta, india-rubber, gambier, gum, coffee, dye-stuffs and tobacco. The trade is chiefly with the United Kingdom, India, Hong-Kong, the United States, Dutch Indies, Siam, and the Native States of the Peninsula. The total imports amount to upwards of £25,000,000, of which the United Kingdom produced £2,700,000, and British possessions £7,000,000. The total exports amount to £21,700,000, of which the United Kingdom receives £3,250,000, and British possessions nearly £3,000,000. Free education is given to the Malays in the vernacular, and instruction in English to all nationalities at a nominal charge. Several Banking Houses are established. The tonnage of shipping since 1887 has much increased, of which the British possess nearly three-fourths, or about 9,000,000. The Native States of the Peninsula have British Residents, who are appointed by the Crown, but under the Governor of the Straits Settlement.

4. *Labuan.*

Labuan is a small island on the North West Coast of Borneo, of about 3,000 square miles, was ceded to Britain by the Sultan of Borneo in 1846, and was then uninhabited. It possesses rich coal deposits, and has a

fine Harbour, called Victoria. The new Central Borneo Company is actively developing its resources, and ship the coal to Manila and Singapore. They also trade with the neighbouring States, with their produce of sago, beeswax, birds' nests, camphor, gutta-percha, india-rubber, rattans, pearls, tortoise shell, and trepang. Cattle and goats are reared, and about 2,000 acres are under cultivation. The inhabitants are chiefly Malays from Borneo, and Chinese. The present population is estimated at about 6,000. There is no Legislative Council, but the government is administered by a Governor, who can make ordinances under Letters Patent of 16 November, 1889, at which time it was arranged that the Governor of the British North Borneo Company should be the Governor of Labuan. Since 1869 the Colony has been self supporting. Its total imports are about £88,000, and its exports about £74,000. Its tonnage is about 129,000, of which 118,000 is British.

5. *North Borneo.*

North Borneo, now called "The State of North Borneo," is about the size of Scotland and contains an area of upwards of 30,000 square miles, with a coast line of 900 miles. It came under the jurisdiction of the British North Borneo Company by Royal Charter of 1st November, 1881, and has its headquarters at Sandakan, with a population of 7,000. There are excellent harbours on the East, North and West. The country though mountainous possesses soil adapted to all tropical products, such as tobacco, sugar, coffee, sago, tapioca. Gold, coal, copper and other minerals are found. The inhabitants are about 150,000 composed of Malays, Dyaks and other races. By agreement with "The State of North Borneo" of 12 May, 1888, the British Government assumed a protectorate, by which the territory is administered by the Company, as an independent State, under the protection of the Crown, who may appoint Consular officers and regulate foreign relations, but cannot interfere with internal administration. The territory is administered by a Court of Directors in London, who

appoint Residents, and other officials, and a Governor, who is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. The law is based on Indian Codes and Colonial Acts. There is also a court for the administration of Mahommedan law. The soil and climate is well adapted for the growth of tobacco, the cultivation and industry of which is rapidly increasing. Other products usual in tropical countries are abundant, and are exported chiefly to Singapore, China and Australia.*

6. *Sarawak.*

This territory in the North West Coast of Borneo is equal to Ireland and Wales combined, comprising 41,000 square miles, with a population of about 300,000 of various races. By an agreement with the Rajah of Sarawak of 14 June, 1888, the State was placed under British protection, having power to determine all questions with respect to succession, to control foreign relations and to establish Consular officers, but no part of the territory can be alienated without the consent of the British Government. The territory is intersected by many rivers and has a coast line of about 380 miles. The first concession was obtained in 1842 by Sir James Brooke, known as Rajah Brooke, and in 1861, 1882, 1885, and 1890, further concessions were obtained. The Borneo Company possess a monopoly of all minerals, except gold and coal. Coal is produced in considerable quantities; and there are timber, tea, coffee, diamonds, quicksilver, gutta-percha and other tropical commodities. The chief trade is with Singapore. The territory is governed by the Rajah, a Supreme Council and subordinate Residents.

These Colonies from their position and natural wealth add much to the strength of the British Empire, and in time will be the means of advancing peace, goodwill, happiness and prosperity to the human race.

The other Crown Colonies will form the subject of another article in our next issue.—ED.

* For a fuller history of the North Borneo Company, *vide* article by Dr. West, in our issue of October, 1897, pp. 330-345.

THE HOLY WRITINGS OF THE SIKHS.

By M. MACAULIFFE, B.C.S. (RET.).

II.*

BABA NANAK, the founder of the Sikh religion, was born in the end of the fifteenth century of our era, in a remote village called Talwandi, in the southern part of what is now known as the Lahore district. The village is on the borders of a very extensive forest, much frequented by pilgrims. There can be very little doubt that Baba Nanak, even in that remote retreat, heard the devotional hymns of his precursors and contemporaries, and that this produced the deep impression on him which led to his denouncing the Indian superstitions of his time, and offering a new religion to the world.

The tenets of Nanak, of his precursors and followers, are very simple. They rejected the idolatry and superstitions of the Hindus, taught that God was one alone, and that dire vengeance would pursue those who worshipped strange gods before Him. The doctrines of the immortality of the soul and of transmigration were adopted in their entirety by the Sikhs, and they were taught to believe that good works and the utterance of God's name were the most meritorious human acts leading to absorption in God and release from the pain and misery of transmigration. The following extracts are given from the writings of Baba Nanak. He thus expresses his conception of the greatness of God :

Were I to live for millions of years and drink the air for my nourishment ;

Were I to dwell in a cave where I beheld not sun or moon, and could not even dream of sleeping,

I should not be able to discover Thy worth : how great shall I call Thy name ?

O true Creator, Thou art in Thine own place.

As I have heard, so I describe Thee. If it please Thee, then show mercy unto me.†

Were I to be killed and cut in morsels or put into a mill and ground,

Were I to be burned in a fire and blended with its ashes,

I should still not be able to discover Thy worth : how great shall I call Thy name ?

Were I to become a bird and fly to a hundred heavens,

Were I to become lost to sight, and did I neither eat nor drink,

I should still not be able to discover Thy worth : how great shall I call Thy name ?

Had I hundreds of thousands of tons of paper, and a desire *to write on it all* after the deepest research,

Were ink never to fail me, and my pen to move like the wind,

I should still not be able to discover Thy worth : how great shall I call Thy name ?‡

When Baba Nanak visited Jaganath he was invited by the High Priest to assist in the Hindu worship which was being performed. At such worship at rich temples, a salver studded with gems is produced. On it are placed flowers, lamps, and incense. The salver is then waved before the idol to the accompaniment of drums, bells, shells, and occasionally cymbals.

* For first part see page 371, April, 1898.

† The gyanis generally translate :—If it please Thee, Thou satisfiest men's desires.

‡ Rag Sri Rag, sabd 2.

Baba Nanak, instead of joining the Hindu worship, raised his eyes to Heaven and gave utterance to the following sublime hymn :

The sun and moon, *O Lord*, are Thy lamps ; the firmament, Thy salver ; the orbs of the stars, the pearls enchased in it.

The perfume of the sandal is Thine incense, the wind is Thy fan, all the forests are Thy flowers, *O Lord of light* !

What sort of worship is this, *O Thou Destroyer of fear* ? Unbeaten strains of *ecstasy* are the trumpets of Thy worship.*

One of Baba Nanak's favourite expressions was—"There is no Hindu and no Musulman." When taken to task for this by the Musulmans, he uttered the following :

I.

Make kindness thy mosque, sincerity thy carpet of prayer, what is just and lawful thy Kuran.

Modesty thy circumcision, civility thy fasting, so shalt thou be a Musulman.

Make *right* conduct thy Kaaba, truth thy spiritual guide, good works thy creed and thy prayer.

The will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thine honour, *O Nanak*.

II.

Nanak, let others' goods† be to thee as the swine is to the Musulman, and the cow to the Hindu.‡

Hindu and Musulman spiritual teachers will go bail for thee, if thou eat not carrion.§

Thou shalt not go to heaven by lip service ; it is by the practice of truth thou shalt be delivered.

Unlawful food shall not become lawful by putting spices|| therein.

Nanak, from false words thou canst only obtain falsehood.

III.

There are five prayers, five times for prayer, and five names for them.¶

The first should be truth, the second what is right, the third charity** in God's name.

The fourth good intention, the fifth the praise and glory of God.

If thou make good works the creed thou repeatest, thou shalt be a Musulman.

They who are false, Nanak, shall only obtain falsehood.††

* The following is Dr. Trumpp's translation of this verse :

"The dish is made of the sky, the sun and moon are made the lamps, the orbs of stars are, so to say, the pearls.

"The wind is incense-grinding, the wind swings the fly-brush, the whole blooming wood is the flames (of the lamps).

"What an illumination is made ! In the region of existence (world) there is no (such) illumination made to Thee. The kettle-drum sounds an unbeaten sound."

A Sikh called Bhai Gurumukh Singh, who has projected an English translation of the Granth Sahib, has printed and circulated the following as his translation of the same verse :

"The sky is for my plate (for arti) the sun and moon are for lamps (and) rows of stars, as it were, for pearls.

"The air of sandal wood serves for perfumary smoke, the wind (for my) fan and all the rows of blooming forests (for flowers) *O Lord of lights*.

"What sort of arti be (for Thee) destroyer of (future) birth and Thine arti ?

"Unbeaten sounds serve as the sounding of kettle-drums or pipes."

† Literally rights, or what is due to thy neighbour.

‡ The Musulmans abstain from the flesh of swine, the Hindus from the flesh of kine.

§ What is not thine own.

|| This means that if wealth be improperly obtained, a portion of it bestowed in alms shall be no atonement.

¶ Prayers or written texts from the Kuran are repeated by strict Musulmans at dawn, at mid-day, in the afternoon, in the evening, and before going to sleep at night.

** Khair ; another reading is khaif, the fear of God.

†† Majh Rag ki war, Slok VII.

IV.

To be* a Musulman† is difficult ; if one be really so, then he may be called a Musulman.

Let him first love the religion of Saints‡ and put aside pride and pelf.

As the file removeth rust,§

Let him accept the religions of his pilots and dismiss anxiety regarding death or life.

Baba Nanak's conception of what is, and is not religion is set forth in the following :

Religion|| consisteth not in a patched coat, or in a beggar's staff, or in ashes smeared on the body.

Religion consisteth not in the ear-rings worn, or the shaven head, or the blowing of horns.¶

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world ; thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

Religion consisteth not in mere words.

He who looketh on all men as equal *deserveth* to be called religious.

Religion consisteth not in *going* abroad and visiting tombs or places of cremation, or in sitting in attitudes of contemplation.

Religion consisteth not in roaming in foreign countries, or in bathing at places of pilgrimage.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

On meeting a true Guru, doubt is dispelled, and the wandering *of the mind* restrained.

Ecstatic sounds** are heard, it raineth nectar, and the heart becometh happy.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world, thus shalt thou find the way of religion.

Nanak, in the midst of life be in death ; thus shalt thou gain the advantage of religion.

When thy horn soundeth without being blown, thou shalt obtain the fearless dignity.

Abide pure amid the impurities of the world thus shalt thou find the way of religion.††

The following again is a striking example of the sincere fervour of Baba Nanak's devotion :

Were a mansion of pearls erected and inlaid with gems for me,

Perfumed with musk, saffron, fragrant aloe, and sandal, so as to confer delight. —

May it not be that on beholding it I should forget Thee and not remember Thy name !

My soul burneth without God.

I have ascertained from my Guru that there is no other shelter *than thou, O God*.

Were the earth to be studded with diamonds and rubies, and my couch to be similarly adorned,

Were fascinating *damsels*, whose faces *shine with* jewels, to shed lustre and diffuse pleasure,

May it not be that on beholding them, I should forget Thee, and not remember Thy name.

* In the original—to be called a Musulman. The same idiom is found in Greek.

† One who resigns himself to God. The Hindus put a third meaning on this verse to suit their own ideas—"Being resigned to God, obedient (*din*), lowly (*mahave*) let man set aside all fear of birth and death—the transmigration which so exercises the Hindus.

‡ Also translated—(a) Let him first of all make his religion agreeable to men.

(b) Let him first love his Saints and his religion.

§ Also translated—(a) which brings trouble, (b) to dispel pride and worldly love is to be filed of impurities.

|| Jog really means the union of the soul with God. Religion is perhaps the nearest English equivalent.

¶ A deer's horn is generally used by Jogis.

** Ten sounds are enumerated as heard by Jogis, such as the melody of sweet music, the chirping of birds, the rattling of thunder, the grating of mill-stones, etc.

†† Rag Suhi, sabd 8.

It is well known that the question of eating meat or destroying life in any shape has been a burning one among the largest sections of the Hindu population. Baba Nanak was found one day eating the flesh of a deer which had been presented him on the occasion of a solar eclipse. Some Brahmin objected to his use of flesh, whereupon he composed the following, and by so doing broke with the strict sects of Hinduism. The hymn has had the further effect of converting the Sikhs into brave, stalwart men, not weak and puny, like the total abstainers from flesh and fish in many parts of India :

Man is first conceived in flesh, he dwelleth in flesh.

When he quickeneth, he obtaineth nourishment from flesh ; his bones, skin and body are made out of flesh.

When he is taken out of the womb, he seizeth teats of flesh.

His mouth is made of flesh, his tongue is of flesh, his breath is enclosed in flesh.

When he groweth up he marrieth and taketh flesh home with him.

Flesh is produced from flesh, all man's relations are made out of flesh.

Meet the true Guru, obey God's order, and everything shall be well with you.

If you suppose that man shall be saved by himself, he shall not ; Nanak, it is idle to say so.

Inveighing against idolatry, preaching the unity of God, and loftily invoking Him as the Eternal, the Omnipotent, the Incomprehensible and the Self-Existent, Guru Nanak lent a complacent toleration to the whole Hindu pantheon with its mythological background, subordinating the Hindu gods to the supreme deity of his own conception. This may be better understood from the following extract from his Japji, which I have freely rendered in blank verse :

What is that gate, that mansion what, where Thou
Dost sit and watch o'er all Thy wondrous works ?
Many the harps and songs which tune Thy praise,
Yea countless ; Thy musicians who can tell ?
How many measures sung with high delight,
And voices which exalt Thy peerless name !
To Thee sing water, wind, and breathing fire ;
To Thee sings Dharamraj in regions drear ;
To Thee sing th' angels who men's deeds record
For judgment final by that king of death.
To Thee sing Shiva, Brahma, and the Queen
Of Heav'n with radiant beauty ever crown'd.
To Thee sing Indra and th' attendant gods
Around his throne, and seraphs at his gates ;
To Thee sing Sidhs in meditation deep,
And holy men who ponder but on Thee.
To Thee sing chaste and patient of mankind,
Unyielding heroes of true faith approved.
To Thee sing Pandits and the Chief of Saints,
The ages four and beds to them assigned.
To Thee sing heroes and the men of might,
The sources four from which all life doth spring.
To Thee sing regions, orbs, and universe,
Created, cherished, and upheld by Thee !
To Thee sing those whose deeds delight Thine eye,
The hosts that wear the colours of Thy faith.
All things beside which sing the glorious name
Could ne'er be told by Nanak's lowly song.

Baba Nanak was succeeded by Guru Angad, whom he had subjected to a terrible test of faith. Baba Nanak set aside his own sons in favour of the pious Angad. After the death of Nanak, there arose a singular exaltation of the Guru and supreme faith in his instruction and intercession.

Guru Angad was fond of expressing himself in aphorisms so frequent in Oriental literature :

Friendship for a fool and love for a great man
Are like lines drawn on water, which leave neither trace nor mark.
If a man be a fool and do anything, he can not do it well,
Even though he do one or two things well, he will spoil the rest.

Guru Angad appears to have had little faith in clamouring to heaven for undeserved blessings. He says :

What availeth that gift which we obtain by our own *asking* ?
Wonderful is the gift we obtain when the Lord is pleased.

Guru Angad appears to have been peculiarly alive to the hopeful feeling which pervades young religious hearts during the vernal season :

They in whose house their spouse abideth, enjoy the *pleasures* of spring.
While those whose spouse is in a distant land burn night and day.
First meditate on God on the arrival of spring ;
And praise Him Who is the support of all.

Guru Angad like other great religious teachers felt that sufficient for the day was the evil thereof. He has given the following amplification of the apothegm :

Be not solicitous for thy maintenance, solicitude is for Him
Who created animals in the water and giveth them sustenance.
There no shop is open, and no one tilleth land.
There is no commerce and no dealing whatever.
Animals are the food of animals ; such food God giveth them.
He taketh care even of the animals he created in the ocean.
Feel not solicitous ; solicitude is for God.

The maxim "Physician heal thyself" so common in the East is thus amplified by Guru Angad :

Physician, thou shalt be a learned and good physician, if thou first diagnose the disease,
And search for a medicine by which all maladies may be healed.
Such medicine as shall remove disease and give relief to the body.
If thou cure thine own disease, thou shalt be really a physician.

The topsy-turvyism of Guru Angad's epoch is thus briefly sketched :

The beggar is styled a king, the blockhead a pandit.
The blind is called a connoisseur ; this is how people speak.
The criminal is styled a chief, and the liar is deemed perfect :
This is the justice of this iron age, the saint *alone* knoweth the difference among men.

Prior to Guru Angad's time the compositions of the saints and reformers were for the most part written in Sanskrit letters. He, apparently to break at once with the voluminous Hindu literature in that character, and also deeming that the compositions of Baba Nanak were worthy of a written character of their own, invented the Gurumkhi alphabet. This was furthermore a gain on the score of simplicity, for it contains but thirty-five letters, while the Sanskrit alphabet has fifty-two.

The Gurumkhi character was well calculated to make its readers part with the Hindu compositions written in the Sanskrit language. The Gurumkhi *s* is the Sanskrit *m*, the Gurumkhi *m* is the Sanskrit *dh*, the Gurumkhi *w* is the Sanskrit *d*, the Gurumkhi *dh* is the Sanskrit *p*, and the Gurumkhi *h* is nearly the Sanskrit *gh*. When, therefore, one has become accustomed to the use of the Gurumkhi letters, a separate and special effort is required to read Sanskrit, however much one may have been previously acquainted with it. The result has been that in most cases Gurumkhi scholars have parted company with Sanskrit and the multitudinous Brahminical works in that recondite language.

Guru Angad was succeeded by Amar Das a devoted follower of his.

In the opinion of the Sikh Gurus, God dwells in the heart, and He becomes manifested through a true Guru or spiritual guide. Guru Amar Das says :

In the cavern of the heart there is an inexhaustible storehouse.

In it dwelleth God the unseen, the illimitable.

He is concealed, but becometh manifest to him who effaceth himself under the Guru's instruction.

I am a sacrifice, my life is a sacrifice to those in whose heart the ambrosial name dwelleth.

Of the ambrosial name the taste is exceeding sweet ; those instructed by the Guru drink its nectar.

He who effaceth his pride, openeth the adamant doors of his heart,

And admitteth the priceless name by the Guru's favour.

The following was composed by Guru Amar Das on the occasion of the birth of a child at a rich man's house while a religious feast was being held. The Brahmins in consequence declared the place impure and refused food. The giver of the feast went to the third Guru to complain. The latter thereupon ordered his Sikhs to partake of the viands prepared for them, and they obeyed. The Brahmins subsequently went to the Guru to complain that his disciples had eaten impure bread. The following is the Guru's defence :

The love of mammon is mental impurity,

By which men are led astray in doubt and suffer transmigration.

The impurity of the perverse never departeth

Until they become saturated with the Word and with God's Name.

Whatever taketh the form of worldly love is all impurity.

On this account man dieth and is born again and again.

There is impurity in fire, in wind, and in water ;

There is impurity in whatever is eaten ;

There is impurity in religious ceremonies and in worship.*

The following throws some light on the worldliness of religious teachers and professed ascetics in the time of Guru Amar Das :

" Man, beholding mammon with the three qualities, hath gone astray, as the moth beholding the lamp is consumed.

* Also translated—There is impurity in religious ceremonies which consist of no real worship.

Only the heart which is dyed with the name is pure.

By serving the true Guru impurity departeth.

Then man dieth not, nor shall he be born again, nor shall the god of death destroy him.†

† Gauri guareri astapadi.

Pandits lost in error look towards mammon to see what anybody may bring and offer them.

They read for the sake of gain, but they are ever immersed in sin, and the merciful one hath deprived them of His name.

Jogis, Jangams, Sanyasis have gone astray; their arrogance and pride have greatly increased.

They do not accept the legitimate alms of clothes and food; through obstinacy they ruin their lives.

In the midst of so many, only the man who hath pondered on the name under the Guru's instruction hath obtained understanding.

To whom shall one complain, since all men act as God causeth them to act?*

The following is an injunction to abstain from the use of wine :

One man filleth and bringeth the goblet, another cometh and filleth the cup.

The intellect of him who drinketh departeth, and intoxication entereth his brain.

He distinguisheth not between mine and thine, and is buffeted by his master.

If possible, drink not at all the false wine,

By which man forgetteth God and receiveth punishment at His court.

He who by God's look of favour meeteth the true Guru, obtaineth the true wine from him.

Thus shall man ever abide in the joy of the Lord, and obtain a position in His court.†

In the following hymn of Guru Amar Das the words evil wife refer to mankind generally, and the strange man means false gods :

The evil wife putting on a red dress goeth to enjoy a strange man.

Infatuated with another, she leaveth the husband of her home.

She eateth bread because it is sweet; its flavour greatly increaseth her disease.

She leaveth God, her lawful husband, and afterwards suffereth the pain of separation from Him.

But under the Guru's instruction she returneth, reneweth her love for God, and decorateth herself to attract Him.

She easily enjoyeth God her true husband in peace, and claspeth His name to her heart.

She is submissive and ever a good wife, and God uniteth her with Himself.

Nanak, she has obtained the true God as her husband, and shall ever be a happy wife.‡

The following must have been written during a season of drought :

When the world is in distress, it heartily prayeth;

The True One attentively listeneth, and with His kind disposition§ granteth consolation.

He giveth orders to the cloud-god, and the rain falleth in torrents.

Then corn and wealth are produced in great abundance and of untold value.

Nanak, praise His name who giveth to all creatures their daily bread,

By eating which happiness is produced, and misery is felt no more.||

Guru Amar Das was succeeded by Ram Das, his son-in-law, who founded the city of Amritsar, which has since risen to wealth and eminence. All his hymns, of which the following is a specimen, breathe the highest divine love and enthusiasm :

"My soul greatly burneth for a sight of God as a thirsty man for water.

The love of God hath pierced my heart like an arrow.

God knoweth my suffering, what pain afflicteth my heart.

* Rag Gujari, war 1, pauri 8.

† Bihagra ki War, Pauri 16.

‡ Suhi Rag ki War, Slok 1.

§ Also translated—of His own accord.

|| Rag Malar di War, pauri 7.

He who repeateth to me the word of my beloved God, is my brother and friend.

O my companions, come to me, come to me, repeat the praises of my Lord, bringing with you the wisdom and patience of the true Guru.

O God, fulfil my desires, grant me a sight of Thee, that my heart may obtain peace.*

The following is an example of Guru Ram Das's ethical teaching :

Renounce lust, wrath, falsehood, and slander, and abandon worldly love and pride.

Abandon thy desire for woman and mammon, so shalt thou obtain the pure one amid the impurities of the world.†

In the following the fourth Guru prescribes the religious duties of his disciples :

Let him who calleth himself a disciple of the true Guru, rise early and meditate on God's name.

Let him bestir himself at dawn, perform his ablutions, and bathe in the tank of nectar.‡

Let him utter God's name under the Guru's instruction, and all his sins, wickednesses, and imperfections shall depart.

Then at sunrise let him sing the Guru's hymns ; sitting or standing, let him meditate on God's name.

The following hymn will be found interesting if only for the claim of infallibility made for the utterances of the Guru :

When God bestoweth greatness on man, the world cometh and falleth at his feet.

There is no room to fear if we do anything of ourselves ; the Creator of all evolveth His own contrivances.

Lo, my brethren, this world is the arena of the truly Beloved

Who by his power hath caused all creatures to bow before Him.

The Lord God preserveth His saints and blackeneth the faces of slanderers and enemies.

The greatness of the true Guru ever increaseth, God Himself continually causeth His saints to sing His praises.

O Sikhs of the guru ! day and night utter the name, so shall God the Creator and the true Guru maintain you in your homes.

O Sikhs of the Guru ! know that the true Guru's word is the truest of the true, for it is God Himself who causeth him to utter it.

The Beloved God maketh bright the faces of the Guru's disciples, and causeth the Guru's praises to resound through the whole world.

Lowly Nanak is God's slave ; God preserveth the honour of His slaves.§

Ram Das was succeeded by his son Arjan. He it was who compiled the writings of his predecessors, together with the hymns of the saints who had been their precursors :

The following is an allusion of Guru Arjan to the freshness of morning devotion :

When the sparrows twitter, and the day dawns, and many desires awake in the heart, Holy men in their love for the name are absorbed in the Wonderful One.

There is gladness in the houses and palaces where Thou, O God, art remembered.

The world's praise is an unfaithful friend.

* Rag Gaund, sabd 6.

† Rag Majh ki War, pauri 8.

‡ Amritsar—this may be the sacred tank of the Sikhs at Amritsar, or any place where the Granth Sahib is kept.

§ Gauri Rag di War 1, pauri 14.

Guru Arjan's writings contain the following address to the five deadly sins : lust, wrath, covetousness, worldly love, and spiritual pride :

I.

O Worldly Love, thou art an invincible hero in the fight, thou crushest even the very powerful.

Thou fascinatest the company of the musicians of heaven, demi-gods, men, beasts, and birds.

I bow to God the Creator ; Nanak seeketh the protection of the Lord of the world !

II.

O Lust, thou givest an abode in hell ; thou causest man to wander in many a womb.

Thou stealest the heart, thou pervadest the three worlds, thou destroyest devotion, penance, and virtue.

Thou conferrest scant happiness, O bodiless one, thou art fickle, thou fillest high and low.

But fear of thee is dispelled by associating with the saints, and taking shelter in God.

III.

O Wrath, thou root of strife, there is never mercy in thee.

Taking sinful mortals in thy power, thou causest them to dance like monkeys.

By associating with thee man becometh lowest of the low, and the myrmidons of death inflict various punishments on him.

O destroyer of the sorrows of the poor, merciful God, preserve all creatures from wrath.

IV.

O thievish Covetousness, thou playest many a prank with the great.

Through thee the wandering mind greatly wavereth in every shape and form.

Thou hast no respect for friend, or lover, or relation, or parents.

What ought not to be done thou doest ; what ought not to be eaten thou eatest ; what ought not to be made thou makest ; such is thy reputation.

Take me, take me into Thy protection, O God ; this is my prayer, O King of man.

V.

O sinful Pride, the root of life and death.

Thou abandonest friends, and holdest fast to enemies ; thou spreadest many an illusion.

Through thee the soul groweth weary in transmigration, and feeleth much pain as well as pleasure.

Through thee man roameth astray in the terrible wilderness, and contracteth very dire and incurable diseases.

The only physician is the supreme Brahm, the Supreme Being, whom Nanak ever worshippeth.

The following is in praise of the Kalyug or last age of the world, which saw the rise of the Sikh religion and a proper administration of justice :

Unattainable and inapprehensible art Thou, O God, but he who is so destined beholdeth Thee.

The true Guru hath bestowed the name on him to whom Thou, the merciful God, showest mercy.

In the Kalyug the divine Guru granteth deliverance.

Even the vilest of the vile, fools and blockheads apply themselves to Thy service.

Thou Thyself art the Creator ; Thou supportest the whole creation ; Thou art contained in everything. The god of death is astonished when all fall at Thy feet.

The Sat, the Treta, and the Dwapar ages are spoken of, but the Kalyug is the best of them all. What man's hand doeth, man's hand receiveth ; nobody is arrested instead of another.*

* It is said that if a man committed an offence in the Sat age, his country was punished ; in the Treta, the offender's city ; in the Dwapar, the offender's family ; and in Kal, the offender himself.

O beloved God, Thou dost what Thy saints pray for ; that is Thy daily practice.
With clasped hands Nanak prayeth for this gift—Bestow on him, O God, a sight of Thy saints.*

The following is believed to have been written by Guru Arjan during the period of his torture by order of the Emperor Jahangir :†

I.

When very great troubles befall, and there is none to receive us,
When enemies pursue and relations flee away ;
When every support is broken, and all supporters fail,
If we remember the supreme Being, no hot wind shall strike us.

II.

God is the strength of the strengthless ;
He neither cometh nor goeth, He is permanent ever ; by the Guru's instruction know Him as the True One.
If man be lean, naked, and *suffer* the pangs of hunger,
If he have not a farthing in his pocket, and there be none to console him,
If no one satisfy his wants and he be never successful ;
If he remember God, he shall obtain a permanent kingdom.

III.

If anyone feel excessive anxiety and bodily suffering,
If, bound up in household and family, man feel *alternate* joy and sorrow,
If he wander in every direction, and cannot rest even for a moment,
If he think upon God, his body and soul shall become happy.

IV.

Man may be in the power of lust, wrath and covetousness ; he may become a miser *through* his love of greed.
He may have committed the four mortal sins, and *all* venial sins ; he may be surrounded† by demons.
He may never have listened to any sacred books, hymns, or minstrelsy ;
Yet he shall be saved if he think upon God and repeat His Name even for a moment.

V.

Even though a man repeat by heart the Shastras, the Simritis, and the four Veds.
Though he be a penitent, and a lord of penitents, or a Jogi, and have visited all places of pilgrimage.

* The following is Dr. Trumpp's translation of this hymn :

Unattainable, incomprehensible is thy form, he attains to it, on whose forehead (this) lot (is written).

(On whom) by the kind Lord Himself mercy is bestowed (to him) by the true Guru the name of Hari is given.

The Kalyug is saved by the Gurdev.

Who were perplexed and confounded by discharging behind and before (through terror), they all applied themselves to Thy service.

Thou Thyself art the Creator, the upholder of the whole creation, in all Thou art contained.

Dharmraja became astonished, the whole (creation) came and fell down at (thy) feet.

(There is) the Satya, Tretn, and Dwapar Yugas, but the highest among the Yugas the Kaliyuga is called.

Who assents (to the words of the Guru) he is assented to, no one is seized in any place.

O Hari, thou dost what thy devotees ask for. This is thy glory.

Joining his hands, Nanak asks for (this) gift : "O Hari, give (me) the sight of thy saints !"

† Sanskrit slokhs of Guru Arjan.

‡ Sanghar, also translated—tortured.

Though he perform the six duties twice over, though he bathe and perform worship;
Yet if he love not the Supreme God, he shall assuredly go to hell.*

In the following Guru Arjan addresses God as a lover :

Thou art my companion, Thou art my friend,
Thou art my Beloved, I feel love for Thee.
Thou art my honour, Thou art my jewel,
Without Thee I cannot abide for a moment ;
Thou art my darling, Thou art my life,
Thou art my Lord, Thou art my Prince,
I abide where Thou placest me.
What Thou commandest, that I do.
Wheresoever I look, there dost Thou dwell.
O Fearless One, I utter Thy Name with my tongue.
Thou art my nine treasures, Thou art my store-house,
Thou art my pleasure and delight, Thou art the support of my soul,
Thou art my Glory, I am enamoured of Thee ;
Thou art my shelter, Thou art my pillow.
Within my soul and body I meditate on Thee.
Thy secret I have obtained from the Guru.
Through the true Guru I have fixed Thee in my heart as the only One.
O God, Thou art thy slave Nanak's prop.†

The following is a denunciation of the practice of the concremation of widows :

In the Kaljug *man and woman* meet in union.
They enjoy one another as long as it is the will of God.
The *widow* meeteth not her beloved lord by burning herself ;
Although she become a sati to be united with him.‡
Following the example of others, widows burn themselves through obstinacy.
They do not thus obtain the company of their dear ones, but wander long in transmigration.

The woman who in virtue and continence obeyeth her husband, shall never suffer in the world.

She who considereth her beloved as her God
Is the blessed sati, who shall be acceptable in God's Court.§

A woman whom God loves is supposed to utter the following :

My Beloved considereth not my merits or demerits ;
He regardeth not my beauty, my colour, or my ornaments ;
He thinketh not of my discretion or my conduct ;
He taketh my arm and leadeth me to his couch.
Hear me, my companions, my Spouse hath acted as my husband.
He hath put His hand on my head, and made me His own. What do ignorant people know of this ?

My married life is now delightful.
I have found my Spouse ; He has seen to all my trouble.
In my courtyard *shineth* the splendour of the moon.
Night and day I am happy with my Beloved.
My dresses are dyed with rich colours.
All my jewels, my necklace, and my flowers now *enhance* my beauty.
My Beloved hath looked on me with favour, and I have obtained all wealth.
I no longer regard mine enemies or the myrmidons of death.

* Sri Rag Astapadi.

† Gauri Mahala V, sabd 87.

‡ Also translated—It is by the force of destiny she becomes a sati.

§ Gauri Guareri, sabd 99.

I am ever happy and ever glad.
The nine treasures of the name are in my house, and I am content.
Since the Beloved hath adorned me,
My wedded life shall last for ever with my Spouse.

The Emperor Jahangir was informed by Chandu Shah, his Minister at Lahore, that Guru Arjan was compiling a book against the Hindu and Musulman religions. The book referred to was the Granth Sahib which Guru Arjan was then compiling. Jahangir sent for Guru Arjan and discussed religion with him. He asked the Guru what religion was the best. The following is the Guru's reply :

One man invokes Ram, another Khuda.
One man worships Gosain, another Allah.
Some speak of the Cause of causes, others of the Benevolent.
Some talk of the Extender of mercy, others of the Merciful.
Some bathe at Hindu sacred places, others visit Makka.
Some perform the Hindu worship, others bow their heads *in the Muhammadan fashion*.
Some read the Veds, others the Musulman books.
Some wear blue, others white.
Some call themselves Musulmans, others Hindus.
Some aspire to the *Heaven of the Muhammadans*, others to the *Heaven of the Hindus* ;
But he who recognizeth God's will knoweth the Lord God's secret.

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE MASSORAH.

BY AN ORIENTALIST.

IN a bulky volume of over 1000 pages Dr. Ginsburg gives an Introduction to the Hebrew Bible published by him through the Trinitarian Society in 1894. We are not now dealing with the Hebrew Text of the Bible, for which Dr. Ginsburg claims so many superiorities over other editions, but which nevertheless does not come up to Norzi's classical edition of the Bible with Massoretic notes. To point out just one radical difference: the references in Norzi refer to the special codices of the Bible, and not so much stress is laid upon the old printed editions, the value of which has still to be established. The readings are quoted in full, and we have the means of verification to hand.

In the Introduction, we certainly expected a clear exposition of the system followed by Dr. Ginsburg in his edition of the Hebrew Text, and, if I may say it, a Massoretic commentary in the style of Norzi amplified and more up to date. What we do get is rather the history of the Hebrew Bible itself, of the manner in which it has been handed down, and the means that have been employed from ancient times for the preservation of the text in as pure and uncorrupted a form as it was possible.

This Introduction consists of two parts: it deals, first, with the outer form of the text, that is, the order of the Books in the Bible, the various divisions of the text into open and closed sections, into chapters, verses, etc. It treats of the division of the Pentateuch, in accordance with the lectionary, into a cycle of three years or of one year. In spite of Dr. Ginsburg's assertion that the Sedarim represent the Triennial Cycle (which has already been suggested by others before him, such as Rappaport), no explanation is forthcoming for the division of the Prophets and Hagiographa into such Sedarim, as no one has ever yet heard of the whole Bible being read and forming part of the Liturgy, as is the case with the Pentateuch.

The author gives further the number of words and letters found in the Bible, in each instance comparing all the MSS. made use of in the various editions of the Massoretic notes contained in them. It is surprising that Dr. Ginsburg does not even refer to the famous poem of Saadiah Gaon (reprinted by Fürst at the end of his Hebrew Concordance), in which each line gives the sum total of each letter of the Hebrew alphabet as it occurs in the Bible.

Of greater importance is the second part of the book, dealing with the text itself, *i.e.*, the *Dagesh* and *Raphé*, the orthography, the final letters, the *Keri* and *Ketib*, the readings called *Sevirin*, to which Dr. Ginsburg gives due importance.* He dilates further upon the two recensions, Western

* The importance of the *Sevirin* was already recognised and pointed out some two years before Dr. Ginsburg's book appeared, by Dr. Julius Reach, in his *Dissertation for the Doctorate*, printed at Breslau. This little work should have been referred to by Dr. Ginsburg in his treatment of the subject.

and Eastern, going into minute comparisons, and also upon the differences between Ben-Asher and Ben-Naphtali; and Dr. Ginsburg rightly brings out, first, that the differences between the two are practically of minor importance, and, secondly, that the theory that our European text rests exclusively on Ben-Asher's recension is not borne out by facts. We often find in our Hebrew text readings which correspond also with the Eastern recension and Ben-Naphtali.

The following chapter, occupying about 200 pages, is devoted to a description of the Massorah, its rise and development. This is undoubtedly the weakest part of the volume, though one would have expected it to be the strongest. The author simply reproduces, with a few additions, the old traditions contained in the Talmud and Midrash, known already to Jacob ben Chayim and to Levita, and he compares the text with ancient translations; but we do not get behind the period of the Massorah, nor is there even an attempt to explain the gradual development of the various forms of the Massorah.

Very little is said about the vowels, and the various systems of vocalization, as well as about the accents and their no less complicated and dark history. We get no explanation as regards the suspended letters, the extraordinary points, or the inverted *nuns*. What was known upon these subjects is here repeated, tabulated, and carefully collated. We have not come across anything touching the small and large letters occurring in various passages of the Bible.

In this whole history of the Massorah, we do not find any systematic description of the Massoretic school; instead of this, standard MSS. of the Bible are carefully described.

Of extreme interest is the remark made by Dr. Ginsburg, that the famous codex of St. Petersburg (916) is not, as has hitherto been stated and accepted by many, of Babylonian origin, but is undoubtedly of Western origin. The question has, however, to be asked: How is it that this MS. should have the superlinear vocalization, which Dr. Ginsburg still maintains to be of Babylonian origin? unless we admit that a MS. so carefully written as that in Palestine had been transported to Babylon and had been vocalized there, instead of having had the vowel points added in the place in which the MS. was written.

The most valuable section of the book is Chapter XII., dealing with a description of 60 MSS. of the Bible, their character, their Massoretic peculiarities, vocalization and other details, which are of invaluable interest. Chapter XIII. contains a history of the printed text of the Hebrew Bible. As these are the versions to which the author refers in his edition of the Hebrew text, he describes them with great precision, and shows their peculiarities. Among these printed editions, most important is his description of the Lisbon edition (1491). Dr. Ginsburg is to be congratulated upon the very important find that this Lisbon edition had practically been revised by Alphonso de Zamora, the baptized Jew, and had formed the basis of the Complutensian Polyglot.

Due attention is paid to the first Rabbinical Bible printed by Bomberg at Venice (1516-17); and a detailed description is given of what may be

called the famous *editio princeps* of the Rabbinic Bible with the complete Massorah, edited by Jacob ben Chayim Ibn Adonijah. This edition settled finally the Massoretic text, which henceforth appeared in all the Hebrew Bibles.

Four Appendices are added : the first treating of the closed sections, a fragment of the recension of the Babylonian school ; the second containing a reprint of the Dikduke Hateamim, critically edited with notes and references by Strack and Baer. Appendix III. contains a specimen of the Massorah Magna and Parva in a tabulated form, and Appendix IV. a specimen of the Revised Notes on the Pentateuch. Various indexes conclude this Introduction.

This *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible* is undoubtedly the result of much study and laborious work, such as the subject of the Massorah necessarily demands, dealing as it does with the minutest details and particles of the Hebrew Text of the Bible. The volume throws much light upon the actual state of the *textus receptus*, and affords a clear insight into the form which it assumed in various MSS. at various periods.

The net result is that, from the most ancient MS. of the ninth century down to the critical edition of Jacob Adonijah, the differences in the text are scarcely of much importance. This shows that the text of the Bible goes back to a more ancient period than that which is usually assigned to the origin of the Massoretic school. The text must have been fixed many centuries before even the seventh, which Dr. Ginsburg takes to be the century in which the Massorah took its origin. It is not our intention, on the present occasion, to enter into a more elaborate disquisition, for the purpose of showing that there are three or four epochs of Massorah, which should have been discriminated in the volume before us : that the Massorah dealing with the text must, by many centuries, be older than that dealing with the vowel signs, and that in all probability the latter is much older than the Massorah dealing with the accents.

Nevertheless this volume will undoubtedly form the basis and starting-point for those researches that will be undertaken to carry back the text, not to a pre-Massoretic time (as the oldest form of the Massorah is as old as the second Temple), but at any rate to a time anterior to the seventh century, when the new school of Massorites flourished in Palestine.

The *Introduction* bears on every page of it the marks of painstaking labour and diligent research. Let us hope that these studies will contribute to a better understanding of the Bible text.

THE ASSEMBLIES OF AL-HARÎRÎ.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC—VOL. I. BY T. CHENERY,
VOL. II. BY DR. F. STEINGASS.

(Oriental Translation Fund, Royal Asiatic Society, London.)

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RETD.).

By the exertions of the Oriental Translation Fund, an English rendering of this renowned work, the first half of which was translated by the late Thomas Chenery, and published in 1867, has now been completed by the well-known scholar, Dr. Steingass. The two parts are now published as one work, with Chenery's long and elaborate introduction, copious notes, and an Index by Mr. Arbuthnot.

In all the vast and varied range of Arabic literature, no work, save only the Sacred Korán, ranks higher than the Makámát of Al-Harîrî of Basra. In the words of Chenery, "Contemporaries and posterity have vied in their praises of him. His Assemblies have been commented with infinite labour and learning in Andalusia, and on the banks of the Oxus. His poetry has been sung at the feasts of the great, and by the camel-drivers in the desert. To appreciate his marvellous eloquence, to fathom his profound learning, to understand his varied and endless allusions, have always been the highest object of the literary, not only among the Arabic-speaking peoples, but wherever the Arabic language has been scientifically studied." In spite, however, or perhaps rather by reason, of the very nature of the special merits of the work, it has met with but scanty recognition elsewhere. "His genius is, by its nature, so bound up with the structure and traditions of the Arabic language . . . that the Orientalists of Europe have shrunk from the difficulties of translation, and have even been unwilling to dwell upon merits which it is impossible that those whom they addressed should ever understand."

And, indeed, now that the whole work, literally translated, elucidated, and explained by copious and learned notes, is before us, it must be confessed that, to the ordinary English reader, it will seem singularly uninteresting. He will find fifty rather pointless stories told in a style almost unendurably prolix, inflated, and artificial. To the student of Arabic, who reads the translation side by side with the Arabic text, innumerable subtle charms will doubtless be evident, though even to him much of the work will appear to consist of almost childish trifling, playing upon words, and literary juggling of the feeblest description.

Under these circumstances, it will be interesting to inquire what is the spell, what the mysterious charm, by which the son of the silk merchant of Basra has won so high a reputation, and held entranced in admiration so many generations of his countrymen and co-religionists. Even if no answer entirely satisfactory to the Western mind should be obtained to this question, an account of a book which has for more than seven centuries exercised so

powerful an influence over a large section of the human race cannot fail to be interesting.

The history of the book, and how it came to be written, is simple enough. In the eleventh century, the ancient and celebrated port of Basra, though it had lost with the decline of the Khalifate much of its commercial prosperity, was a famous seat of learning. There, in A.D. 1054, was born Abû Muhammad al Kâsim, called Al-Harîrî, or the silk merchant, probably from his father's trade. In the same town he died in A.D. 1122. He came of good Arab stock, and, in addition to some private income, held an official position of importance, which, however, apparently left him ample time for literary pursuits. Of his various productions, it is not necessary here to say anything; his "Assemblies" became so famous as to throw them comparatively into the shade. The idea of the work was not, however, original. A century before Harîrî, a celebrated writer, Al-Hamadani, known as Badi' az Zamân, "the wonder of the age," had composed a number of short stories so constructed as to display his eloquence, his profound knowledge of the Arabic language, and his dexterity in applying quotations from the Korân and the early poets to all sorts of circumstances and events. He called these stories "*makâmât*" (as we might say "sittings," though the word literally means "standings"), because the narrator was represented as appearing in some company of learned men, and astonishing them by his wit and versatility. It was at a comparatively late period of his life that Al-Harîrî was invited by the Vazir of the Turkish ruler who had virtually superseded the puppet Khalifs, Al-Kaim and Al-Murtadî, to compose stories similar to those of Hamadani. He had, in fact, composed one such story, and this having been brought to the Vazir's notice, led him to ask for more. As the idea was borrowed from his predecessor, so was the framework of the tales. They are supposed to be related by Al Hârith, son of Hammâm, a Râwî or professional story-teller and reciter of poetry. These Râwis were, and still are, very popular among the Arabs, and wonderful legends are told as to their amazing memories, and the almost incredible number of verses they could repeat. Al Hârith wanders into all parts of the Muslim world, and meets at every turn a brilliantly clever, learned, and unscrupulous vagabond named Abû Zayd, who lives by his wits, and in every tale manages to carry off a large sum of money by some *fourberie* or some display of eloquence and learning.

But from the outset it is clear that neither the virtuous reciter Al Hârith nor the witty scamp Abû Zayd is a person of any importance in the eyes of the author. They are mere pegs on which to hang his display of knowledge and linguistic legerdemain, and he often hardly takes the trouble to wind up their adventure. On the other hand, he—and, it may be added, his contemporaries—valued so highly the grammatical refinements, and purposely obscure poetical allusions, that he is said to have trained one, if not all, of his sons to act as expounders of the text, a function which one of them exercised long after the author's death. This preference of the language of a book to the subject, though thoroughly Oriental, is all the more tantalizing to Europeans, because one cannot help feeling how much regarding the little-known history of the interesting period at which he lived:

Al-Hariri could have told us if he would. In the imaginary account of his birth and parentage given by Abú Zayd, for instance, we touch upon a link with Europe at the time of the first Crusade. It was in 1098, when the army of Godfrey de Bouillon had reached Cilicia, that Thoros, the Armenian ruler of Edessa, sent an embassy inviting the Christians to occupy the town, and defend it and the inhabitants, who were mostly Nestorian Christians, against the Turks of Mosul. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, accepted the adventure, occupied the town, and founded a principality which included all Northern Mesopotamia, and lasted for half a century. Among the adjacent towns which were conquered by the Crusaders was Sarruj, or, as the Arabs called it, Sarruj. It was taken by storm, and the inhabitants either driven into exile, slain, or made captives. Abú Zayd always represented himself as a scion of the royal race of Ghassan, and a citizen of Sarruj, and affirmed that he had lost all his property, and become a homeless wanderer in consequence of the capture of his native place by the Christians. The story is probably intended to be as apocryphal as the rest of Abú Zayd's utterances, but one cannot help regretting that no more is told us of this interesting scrap of contemporary history.

It would be impossible, and if possible perhaps wearisome, to give an analysis of all the fifty Assemblies in the compass of one article, not to mention that there is considerable sameness in many of them. A short account of a few of the most remarkable will, however, suffice to give a fair general idea of the character and contents of the work.

The second Assembly called "Of Holwán" is very much admired, though, as Chenery observes, "there is none which appears more extravagant to the European student. Alliterations, verbal caprices, far-fetched expressions, and the puerile conceits which were usual among poets of the age, so abound, that we may almost imagine the author to be desirous of satirizing what he professes to imitate." In this story Hârith meets at Holwán an improvisatore who is delighting a learned assembly with his eloquence and ready wit. This is, of course, Abú Zayd, who is pursuing his task of getting money under various disguises. Then he disappears, and Hârith comes across him again at Basra, where also he astonishes his company by his literary feats.

In the fourth Assembly Hârith overhears at Damietta two men discoursing on duty towards a neighbour. The younger preaches charity, but the elder rebukes him and inculcates selfishness. The two discourses are much admired for their flow of words and wealth of poetical illustration. The old man is, of course, Abú Zayd. Hârith introduces him to his friends, who are so charmed with his skill that they load him with presents. Abú Zayd thereupon asks permission to go and have a bath, and takes the opportunity to make off, leaving behind him some verses on the advisability of departing when a feast is finished.

In the fifth Hârith is at Kufa conversing with some friends. A stranger—Abú Zayd, as usual—comes in with a story of having found a long-lost son, whom he would fain take charge of, were he not too poor to maintain him. The company, charmed with his wit and recitations, subscribe a handsome sum of money. As soon as Abú Zayd has touched the coin, he

"laughed till his eyeballs gushed with tears," and recited an impromptu poem, in which he confessed that he had no son, and had only used a trick to get money. Whereupon he departs.

The sixth Assembly turns merely upon the skill displayed by Abú Zayd in dictating, on the spur of the moment, a passage in which the alternate words consist entirely of pointed and unpointed letters. This is considered a triumph of ingenuity and scholarship.

The eleventh, which is reckoned as one of Hariri's masterpieces, contains a sermon preached at a funeral by an old man who had veiled his face with a cloak. After it was over the preacher proceeded to beg, and obtained a large sum. Then he went away and began to laugh. Hârith recognised him as Abú Zayd, and reproached him for his deceit. The unabashed old hypocrite replied in a verse: "Look well, and leave thy blaming; for, tell me, hast thou ever known a time when a man would not win of the world when the game was in his hands?" The sermon, partly in prose, partly in verse, is, it must be confessed, a very noble production, especially the poetry, of which Chenery truly observes: "In lofty morality, in religious fervour, in beauty of language, in power and grace of metre, this magnificent hymn is unsurpassed."

Highly esteemed is also the twelfth. In this Hârith is with a company of travellers who are about to cross the desert from Damascus to Anah on the Euphrates. They were unable to obtain a guard, and were afraid of robbers. But a dervish standing by teaches them a charm, consisting of a prayer to Allah, which he assures them will protect them. They repeat it twice a day during the journey, and on arriving safely at Anah reward the dervish richly for his assistance. This worthy incontinently disappears, and Hârith, whose suspicions are aroused, searches for him. At last he heard it said, "Since he entered Anah he has not quitted the tavern." "So I went by night to the wine-hall in disguised habit, and there was the old man in a gay-coloured dress amid casks and wine-vats;—and about him were cupbearers surpassing in beauty and lights that glittered, and the myrtle and the jasmine, and the pipe and the lute."—He was, as will have been anticipated, our old friend Abú Zayd. On being reproached for his dissipation, he utters a beautiful poem in praise of wine. This assembly is supposed to have been composed by Hariri as a contrast to the preceding one by way of displaying the versatility of his talent.

The thirteenth may be quoted as an instance of the peculiar juggling with words which the Arabs so highly esteem. In it an old woman comes begging with some emaciated children. Part of her address runs thus:—"My people and my husband were wont to settle on the Breast, and to journey at the Heart, to burden the Back, to advance the Hand;—but when Fortune destroyed the Arms and pained the Liver by means of the Limbs, and turned about till Back was Belly, then Eyeball grew dim, and Eyebrow restless, and the Eye went forth, and the Palm was lost, and the Forearm grew dry, and the Right hand broke, and the Elbow departed, and there remained to us neither Front tooth nor Eye tooth." Each of the words in capitals has a double meaning, so that the speech is to be understood as follows:—My people were wont to sit in the first place in the

Assembly (Breast), to march at the centre of the army (Heart), to mount their friends on the backs of camels (Back), to confer favours (Hand), but when Fortune destroyed their helpers (Arms), and so on. Thus *nazir* (literally "looker") means both "an eyeball," and "one who looks upon one respectfully." It does not seem, in a language so overflowing with metaphor as Arabic, very difficult to string together sentences of this kind ad libitum. The old woman, it need hardly be said, turns out to be Abú Zayd in disguise.

In the same style is the sixteenth, where some people are playing at making sentences which have the same meaning read backwards as forwards, like the Greek inscription on the Church of St. Sophia, "nipson anomêmata mê mona nospin," or the mediæval Latin verse, "Roma tibi subito motibus ibit amor." Abú Zayd surpasses them all by dictating five lines of verse which preserve their meaning when read backwards. In the next assembly he beats even this feat by composing a whole page of prose of the same kind, of course on both occasions carrying off considerable rewards.

Probably the European reader will find these examples of Hariri's composition sufficient, and more than sufficient, though it must not be forgotten that under all this literary trifling there lies a precious treasure for the student. Information abounds of the most valuable nature regarding the meaning of rare and difficult Arabic words, useful elucidations of peculiarities of grammar and syntax, of spelling and vocalization, as well as discriminations in the use of synonyms and many other knotty questions. In fact it is this last point, his extreme *difficulty*, which more than anything else commends Hariri to his fellow-countrymen and to Muslim readers in many lands. But there is something more than mere grammar in his work. Apart from the purity, elegance, and exuberant copiousness of his style, there are embedded in it, like jewels in a framework of gold, a rich store of the best poetry, and countless allusions to the old legendary history of the præ-islamitic Arabs.

In conclusion, it may be stated that the notes to both volumes occupy more than half of each; and that Chenery has prefixed an exhaustive and lucid introduction. There is also a very copious index and appendix. The notes are learned, instructive, and just what notes should be, and the translation is throughout in flowing and graceful English. The whole work in short is admirably done, and is a monument of accurate and profound scholarship, a valuable addition to our all too scanty store of translations of the leading Oriental classics.

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

WE have to point out two new reviews concerning Orientalism in general, and Semitic studies in particular. The first is the "Orientalische Literatur-Zeitung," edited by F. E. Peiser, and published in Berlin, and appearing monthly*; this review is essentially bibliographic. The second is devoted to the history of religions, and is titled "Archiv für Religionswissenschaft,"† it is published under the direction of Th. Achelis. This review differs greatly from the one published in France under the direction of J. Réville, and titled "Revue de l'histoire des religions;" instead of being, like the last, devoted to the study of problems which appear in every religion on the globe, it appears to us more like a review of the philosophy of religion, than of the science of religions.

At the Congress of Religious Systems held at Stockholm on the 31st August, 1897, Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye made an interesting speech, lately published, on the comparative study of religions and religious belief.‡ This work is of great interest to all interested in Oriental and Semitic Studies. The influence which Hellenism has exercised upon the Semites has often been demonstrated, and some remarkable works have been published on the subject. Mr. Robert Brown, however, shows by his recent studies the influence exercised by the Semitic mind on Greek mythology.§

We must here specially mention the remarkable work published by Prof. Tiele on the philosophy of religions;|| this work consists of the lectures given by the Dutch savant at Edinburgh under the Gifford trust, in November and December, 1896. The Philosophy of Religions is so closely and intimately connected with Oriental philosophy and Orientalism in general, that it deserves the serious attention of our readers.

A theme worthy of attention has been propounded at the University of Berne by Dr. Künstlinger on the theory of the nouns of number in the Semitic languages.¶ At the end of his dissertation, the author gives an original explanation of the strange fact that in the Semitic languages the noun of the cardinal feminine numbers (from 3 to 10) is used with the

* Wolf Peiser, Berlin (4to.).

† J. E. B. Mohr, Freiburg in Brisgau.

‡ "Die vergleichende Religionsforschung und der religiöse Glaube," in 8vo., J. E. B. Mohr, Freiburg in Brisgau, 1898.

§ "Semitic Influence in Greek Mythology," in 8vo., Williams and Norgate, London, 1898.

|| "Inleiding tot de Godsdienstwetenschap," in 8vo., Van Kampen, Amsterdam, 1897.

¶ "Zur Theorie der Zahlwörter in den semitischen Sprachen," in 8vo., Berlin, 1897 (Druck von H. Itzkowski).

masculine substantive, and the noun of the masculine number with the feminine substantive.

This reversing of genders is like the euphemism frequently used by the Semites, "For fear of calling anyone blind, they say of him in Aramean סג' נהור, he who has a multiple eyesight;" again, from the fear of calling anybody sterile, they say by the root שכל, שכל, which according to S. Fraenkel originally signified *being fruitful*,* likewise in speaking of men, or of things considered masculine, the noun of the feminine number was employed, and in speaking of women or of things reputed feminine, the noun of the masculine number was used. They were under the superstitious fear of diminishing the person or the object named by describing them by their true sex. This theory seems to us to be untrustworthy. Caspari, in his "Grammaire arabe" (French edition, page 202), explains this anomaly in the following manner: "It arises," he says, "from the importance which the Arabs attach to the substantive nature of the nouns of number, so as to distinguish them from adjectives. As these agree in gender with the nouns which they qualify, the Arabs have given to the nouns of number the opposite form of gender to that of the substantive." We believe, however, that it is possible to give a less subtle explanation of this singularity, which we have explained in our "Grammaire minimé de l'hébreu et de l'araméen bibliques" (page 54). This apparent anomaly is owing to the fact that the nouns of number from 3 to 10 are *abstract* nouns. In French the same process of construction is followed in using abstract nouns:—dizaine, douzaine, quinzaine, etc. When we say in French *une dizaine de chameaux*, we speak like the Hebrew who says עשרה גמלים. From the time they employed the noun of the feminine number with the masculine substantive in the Semitic languages, they were logically led to make use of the noun of masculine number with feminine substantives.

We have also to announce an important work by P. Jensen on the Hittites and the Armenians,† in which the author proposes to solve the problem of the Hittite inscriptions by connecting them with the Armenian. It is known that the majority of Oriental languages have been compared, without success, with the language of these famous stelæ.

BIBLICAL HEBREW.

Old Testament-Geography of Palestine.

The thirteenth part of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible" published by the Abbé Vigouroux‡ appeared some little time back. It includes, like the preceding parts, some very interesting articles, in particular:—l'Ecclésiastique ou Sagesse de Jésus fils de Sirach (with a facsimile of the Oxford MS.), l'écriture hébraïque, l'Egypte, etc.

The forthcoming publication of a new general work upon the Bible is announced.§ It will be titled: "Encyclopædia biblica, a dictionary of

* This second example seems to us to be badly chosen, as it does not prove the original sense of this root.

† "Hittiter und Armenier," in 8vo., K. Trübner, Strasburg, 1898.

‡ Letourez et Ane, Paris, 1898.

§ Adam and Charles Black, London.

the Bible," edited by Cheyne and Sutherland Black. The names of these scholars are a sufficient guarantee of the value of the work.

In the "Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft" (Part I., 1898) we notice a study of Zeydner on the mark of Cain and circumcision (Kainszeichen, Keniter und Beschneidung).

The "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins" (Vol. XX., Part 2-3, 1897) includes a long and remarkable monograph of Dr. G. Schumacher upon the southern part of the land of Basan, with a detailed map, and numerous illustrations. This description, being both geographical and historical, is of the greatest interest.

A series of commentaries on the Old Testament have appeared. We may mention the following: Holzinger, Genesis*; Budde, the Book of Judges†; Driver, Joel and Amos‡; Valetton, Amos and Hosea§; Steuernagel, Deuteronomy||; Wildeboer, Proverbs, ¶ etc. Crawford Burkitt has edited some interesting fragments of the Book of Kings, according to the translation of Aquila, from a MS. formerly in the Geniza of Cairo.**

The Ecclesiasticus, or Wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, has given rise to a new study of Israel Levi,†† where we find the original Hebrew text, with a translation and commentary.

We also have to notify the translation of the Ritual of Judaism (שלחן ערוך) by J. de Pauly and Neviasky, the two first volumes of which have appeared.‡‡

ARABIC.

We notice a new monthly Islamic review, "Le Miroir de l'Art Musulman,"§§ edited by Hakky-Bey. This review is illustrated.

The "Journal Asiatique," in its number for November-December, 1897, publishes an article of great interest by Mr. Deveria on Musulmans and Chinese Manicheans. It treats of the introduction of Manicheism into China.

"In the year 621 is found the first mention of a Manichean temple at Si-ngan-fou, a temple which probably existed from the commencement of the 6th century. In 694 a Chaldean named Fou-to-ien brought to China the sacred books of the *two Principles*, in which were formulated the doctrines of Manicheism. From this time we learn that Manichean temples multiplied in China, and the religion of Mani was recruited during many centuries by numerous disciples. Manicheism in China had been preceded by Mazdeism. The Mazdean worship existed in the first century of our era in the Chinese territory which to-day forms the provinces of Chen-si and Kan-sou. Between 629 and 645 the religion of Zoroaster flourished

* J. E. B. Mohr, Freiburg in Brisgau, 1898.

† *Ibid.*, 1897.

‡ University Press, Cambridge, 1897.

§ J. Ricker, Giessen, 1898.

|| Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, Gottingen, 1898.

¶ J. E. B. Mohr, Freiburg in Brisgau, 1897.

** University Press, Cambridge, 1897.

†† "Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études" (sciences religieuses), Vol. X., part I, Leroux, Paris, 1898.

‡‡ Herluison, G. Michau and Co., Orleans, 1898.

§§ G. Lefebure, Paris, 1898.

among the Tou-kiou Turks in the neighbourhood of Lake Issikoul and Taras; in 677 a Mazdean temple called the Temple of Persia was built at Si-ngan-fou (in the province of Chen-si)." It is interesting to follow this succession to Mazdeism by Manicheism in China. We desire to draw the attention of our readers to the discussion raised at the last Congress of Orientalists at Paris on the origin of the Arabic word *zindik* زنديق (Manichean, heretic), some tracing it to Mazdeism and to the word *zend*, and others to the Aramean and to the word *saddiq* (צדיק).

In the "Journal Asiatique" for January-February, 1898, there is a curious account by Mr. Casanova of a manuscript of the sect of Assassins.

The last parts of the "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," by Clermont-Ganneau, contains an important statement or reference to the Basilica of Constantine and the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, which was read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Fine Arts in October and November, 1897.

In the "Altorientalische Forschungen" (2nd series, Vol. I, part 1-2), by Winckler, has appeared a curious study of a text of the Minäite inscriptions, proving the existence of polyandry amongst the people.

In conclusion, we commend a work of great merit by Mr. H. P. Smith, on the Bible and Islam, or the influence of the Old and New Testaments on the religion of Muhammad.* This is an impartial pamphlet, which will contribute to sweep away the foolish prejudices entertained by so many Christians against Islamism.

* Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1897.

For facility of reference we publish with some of our quarterly reviews of one or more of "The Sacred Books of the East" Series, a complete list of them, brought up to date, which we hope our readers and Oriental scholars generally will consider to be a useful addition. The Series now stands as follows (1st July, 1898):

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REVIEWED BY THE REV. H. I. MILLS, D.D.

(*Professor-Elect of Zend Philology in the University of Oxford.*)

THIS volume is especially important for the history of Avesta-documents. We have in it a credible account of the existence of masses of Zend literature, early and late, in the form of so-called Nasks, or portions of Zoroastrian literature, collected in books. As a matter of course these collections, when last definitely settled upon, were rather late, and well in the Sassanian times, but collections of the ancient "documents," even before they were really "documents" at all, but still oral pieces though elaborately memorised by priests trained for the purpose, had been going on from the very earliest periods. The external form in which these "collections" were made, and in the shape in which they are recorded in this volume, gives fair and interesting evidence of their approximate and relative age. The Nasks are twenty-one in number, and they fell into their present order, from a well-justified superstition as to the sanctity of one of the post-gâthic prayers, the so-called Ahuna-Vairya. This is the little piece which acquired pseudo-importance a quarter of a century ago, even among occidentals, as being supposed to present an analogy with the *logos* of St. John.

A singular value is attached to this post-gâthic scrap even in the Zend Avesta, showing what a great lapse of time had taken place since even a post-gâthic period. This word, the Ahuna-Vairya, was said to have been pronounced before Ahura created the world, Yasna XIX.

The prayer is a complete, though very brief, piece of three lines in the Gâthic dialect, and in one of the Gâthic metres. (See S. B. E., XXXI., p. 281.) But the piece is extra-gâthic beyond a doubt, and somewhat later, having been put together out of Gâthic ideas, say fifty or a hundred years after the Gâtha Ahumavaiti was completed, and yet by the time we arrive at the composition of Y. XIX., this Ahuna-Vairya had attained such a marked, if not an exaggerated sanctity as is indicated there (in Y. XIX.); and at the date at which this list of the Nasks was last made, this sanctity had not only maintained itself, but was in so far further developed that the number of these collections, "twenty-one," was determined by the number of the words in it (this Ahuna-Vairya prayer). Each Nask corresponds consecutively to each one of the words in this post-gâthic fragment. That these Nasks were each and all not portions of the genuine old Zend literature, written at the time when the language was alive, is rendered certain by the Nirangistan which we have left to us in a condition which clearly proves that it was written or written over at a comparatively very late period, and that the individual Nasks were not homogeneous one with the other as to the age or nature of their contents is proved, if such a thing needed external proof, by the best specimens of the Nasks which we actually possess in their full, or quasi full, form namely, by the well-known

Yasna and Vendidad, both of which are, of course, made up of documents differing in age by hundreds of years, and by subject matter no less heterogeneous as to its nature than as to its age. The best illustration of this is the existence of the Gâthas in the middle of the Yasna as its kernel with such pieces as Y. XIX. before it, for this latter is a commentary in a very late and degenerated style of a piece which is itself positively post-gâthic by a century more or less. So of the Vendidad, nothing could be more heterogeneous than the beautiful XVIII., XIX. fargards to the now trifling, but once important details about purification, etc.

But whatever must be the character of any such collections, it is a matter of the deepest interest to know that they were at a certain period definitely recognised, and that they bear indisputable evidence as to the past existence of a large mass of Avesta literature, early or late. In fact they show that there must have existed schools of Avesta learning under the Sassanids which accomplished very serious results, from the fact that twenty-one collections or Nasks of Avesta literature existed at that period, each one of which, as it is fair to suppose, may have been of about the same bulk as the Yasna or Vendidad. And if most of these collections were late, the fact attests all the more to the certain existence of a quasi-scientific activity of the period; and when we remember that this was the time when the Avesta itself was definitely reclaimed from its old Pahlavi-Avesta character, when all the old signs for its short vowels, if any existed at the time, were superseded by distinct letters, and when even the consonants and the long vowels were remodelled as to shape, I think we may say that we must reconsider any opinion which we may have formed, as to the literary dearth, at least, of the Sassanian period; for these transferred masses of literature, as we have them in the genuine Avesta, actually preserved the phonetic values even to the most delicate points of distinction. This Vol. XXXVII. therefore recalls to us a whole, though a restricted, world of intellectual life, for while the present form in which these notices (of the Nasks) are preserved for us in the Dinkard, is to be referred to the ninth century of our era with more or less exactness, they record, of course, the state of intellectual labour which must have existed some centuries previously.

But in themselves considered these notices and excerpts possess great, if still only secondary, interest for Zend philology. I will not dwell upon those sections which recall the present Zend Avesta, as prominent portions of them have already been considered by me in this review, and as I may possibly in future enter into further details concerning them; but it will be interesting to see what some of these Nasks were like; and if many of them contain matter which seems puerile and quaint to the last degree, we must not forget that our Christian literature itself would appear quite as puerile to a Zoroastrian as these specimens of his later religious literature appear to us. And we can the more readily even enjoy with kindly sympathy what may seem to us to verge upon the grotesque if not indeed positively to invade that domain, when we recall those most impressive portions of the Avesta which are generally acknowledged to stand alone in their period.

The first Nask, the Sûdkar, deals with various repetitions of the prayer Ahuna-Vairya and the division of the Nasks in accordance with its lines

(see above); then with the *ashem-vohu* another especially sacred prayer; the third fargard begins to deal with the formation, decline, and death of human beings and of illiberal opulence.

But it would be manifestly a mistake to continue a dry summary of the contents of this valuable volume here. What will more interest the reader will be instances of a rare and graphic nature. Among such bits none could be more important nor curious than the extremely traditional account of Zoroaster's birth, which is found in the twenty-fourth chapter of the ninth book of the Dinkard: "Of the Varstmânsar Nask there are twenty-three fargards, and the first is the Aêthrapaitish on the asking of Zaratusht by Maidôkmâh about the nature of the birth of Zaratusht and his coming to the religion; and the reply of Zaratusht, about the combative coming together of the life-causing and death-causing spirits at his birth." I alter, as usual, the somewhat difficult language which Dr. West so conscientiously makes use of as a convenience to critics studying the original; it is so extremely unlike his own vigorous and lucid style. It seems that whether from veneration, curiosity, or as in the case of certain royal births, to make sure of the identity of the infant, good and evil spirits struggled for his person. "When they saw his head, they considered it to be the shoulder of *Atekduksâr*, and his chest and back those of *Aharishvang*; and when they saw his full breast they considered it to be that of the spirit of liberality; and by his side was the Aryan glory to rub his bosom." On the grievous (or painful) bringing forth of the head, Zaratusht spoke at once, and quoted the later Avesta in a passage which is a sort of rubric: "As a spiritual lord is my desire, do thou who art the Zôti speak forth to me;" and God answered him thus: "So shouldst thou be the priestly master as regards whatever righteousness I speak forth with righteous intelligence; thou art of value, very much, and righteous, and most intelligent, and wilt state the religion of Auharmazd to creatures of every kind." This saying drove a spiritual arrow home to the demons, just as an archer shoots an arrow against a man clothed with a coat of mail; the devil grumbled to his demons at this: "Evil has happened to you; but you don't use care." "So Zaratusht proclaimed life to be free of the devils' control;" for when the devils fell on his nascent body, only yet brought forth so far as his head, the words which he spoke (taken from a passage really uttered one thousand years later), took at once bodily form (not uncommon with Avesta-lore), just as the Haôma plant did afterwards; it became a warrior, and drove the devils back; but Zaratusht followed up his demoralized assailants; he spoke again, and his word went home like an arrow straight at the devils' persons, but with ten-fold force. They however came on again; but this second word turned warrior also and kept them off. The prophet's arms appeared as the birth progressed, and the demons were hit again; but the amount of force was this time one hundred times greater than that of the first spoken word. But when his whole body was brought forth the demons were "in trouble" indeed, and hurried home to hell; the gloom dispelled, light increased, and every creature of the beneficent sacred being was pleased, and talked of virtue;" and God came and took away Zaratusht to keep him safe, etc.

As I have already said, it is a very valuable volume indeed, and I may return to it with an additional review in another number of this periodical.

THE LANDLORD AND POLITICAL TENURES OF GUJARAT AND WESTERN INDIA.—(I.)

By B. H. BADEN POWELL, M.A., C.I.E., F.R.S.E., M.R.A.S.

FOR practical purposes, it is easy to classify all Indian land-tenures, which are not mere tenancies (under some other "owner"), into LANDLORD-TENURES, and PEASANT-TENURES. It is true that one class of peasant or village tenures (where the whole village is owned by a co-sharing community) is itself of the "landlord" character: but we may put these out of consideration and here confine ourselves to the estates usually distinguished by the familiar vernacular names "Zamindāri," "Tālukdāri," "Khoti," etc. In these there is a recognised private ownership of one landlord, sometimes representing a considerable domain, sometimes a very small one—no larger than a single village or part of one. But in the latter case, the petty landlordship has the same essential characteristics as the larger one, and has not the peculiar features of the co-sharing village-community of the Panjāb and N.W. Provinces.

Now, in this restricted sense, all "landlord" tenures have developed either out of a former hereditary territorial (ruling) chiefship or principality, or out of some official, or revenue-farming position over the territory which has become this "estate." In the former case the old territorial "Rāja," "Thākur," or vassal chief, has fallen under the power of a Mughal, or Marātha, conqueror; he, or his descendants, have been left in possession, but transformed in character. In the latter, the vantage-ground of the official position has enabled the manager to absorb, *de facto*, the superior right over the estate, and finally has secured his recognition as *de jure* landlord. Both these origins are illustrated on the large scale in the existing landlord estates of Bengal and Oudh. But a similar origin can be assigned to the so-called "janmi-dār" of the West Coast, to the "Zamindārs" and "Polygars" of Madras and elsewhere, to the "Talukdār" of Ahmadābād, or the "Khot" of the Western Coast districts—in fact, to all *landlord* tenures.*

Now the upper part of Western India has always contained a vast number of "estates," some of which have actually become landlord properties in this way. And Gujarāt affords a particularly good series of illustrations. It is not indeed that this province contains any large number of formally landlord-tenures—recognised as such by modern law. Such estates do not there cover whole districts and subdivisions as they do in some other provinces: but where they do occur they are often curious in form: and the special feature of importance is that they are seen side by side with a great number of Chiefs' estates of *exactly the same origin and character*, only that, under the local and historical conditions of the case,

* It will be understood, I need hardly remark, that I am speaking of "natural" tenures—not of occasional instances of a modern ownership title acquired under the (old) "Waste-Land rules," for example, by simple purchase or grant.

these latter have not undergone the entire process of transformation into subject proprietary tenures. They have consequently remained more or less completely in the category of "Ruling States" or "Chiefships." Sometimes they are in that kind of anomalous position (for such it is—regarded from a theoretical point of view) which is indicated by the term "political estate"—a term hardly applicable elsewhere.*

The situation of Gujarāt and its physical peculiarities of mountain and plain made it accessible to invasion and settlement by various races and foreign dynasties. Its soil and products as well as its valuable sea-port trade rendered it a territory to be perpetually coveted and continually fought for. Its history (as the natural result of such features) is curious beyond that of almost any other part of India, and its ethnological development hardly less so. And to add to these sources of interest, Gujarāt history is illustrated for us by a number of inscriptions cut on the rock or preserved on copper-plate grants, as well as by a varied and curious series of coins; it possesses a number of Jaina temple-records, and a later literature of quaintly picturesque ballads and legends of local bards. The early Moslem conquests, as well as the later administrative arrangements of the Mughal sovereigns, are nowhere better chronicled than in the local Muhammadan histories.

The succession of races which occupied estates or ruled over the peninsula and the inland country as far as Mālwa, produced a vast number of small ruling and dependent States—some held by dignified Chiefs, with many vassals and cadets of the family; others held by petty marauding barons levying blackmail on the villages round. All these estates were constantly partitioned, expanded and broken up: they changed hands by force, and fell under the supremacy of alien suzerains and again recovered independence: lands were granted free at one time and "resumed" at another: they were taxed and surcharged, they were let alone for a time or were absorbed into the *Khālsa*, or immediate demesne of the last conqueror; in fact, they changed under the impulse of each historic and dynastic touch, like the coloured pieces in a kaleidoscope.

Looking at the existing distribution of landownership in the fertile plain districts, as well as in the wilder parts on the borders, we can trace step by step how different circumstances, sometimes the outcome of tribal or family customs, operated to split up old estates and give rise to new ones, how Moslem revenue-administration and Marāthā financing in turn affected

* There were some anomalous estates in the "Central Provinces" up to the year 1889, which were something of the same kind. These consisted of the estates of petty local Chiefs, whose lands were "settled" to pay a certain (but not unalterable) revenue or tribute to the British Treasury, and were bound by written agreement to observe certain rules and to respect the rights of subordinate landholders and tenants. But (originally) they were not subject to the Land-Revenue law, nor to the Collectors' ordinary jurisdiction. At the same time, the Chiefs had no territorial jurisdiction as rulers. Thus the estate-holder was neither exactly a subject landlord, nor yet a Ruling Chief. Such a case (in theory at least) is quite distinct from that of a "Protected State," where the Chief (however dependent or limited in authority) is still a "ruler," and his territory is not British territory, while the payment he makes to the British Crown is a tribute determined by treaty, not by any process of Revenue-Settlement (see my "Land Systems of British India," vol. ii., 445 ff.).

them, and finally left the districts in so much internal disorder, and the *status* of the various superior landholding classes so confused and doubtful, that our own earlier administrators were not a little puzzled to know what to do. At first they rather obscured than defined the landlord or overlord right, and only ultimately understood and established it on a practical basis.

It would, of course, be quite possible to take up these "Rājput" and other landlordships and political estates, from the point at which they came under British rule or suzerainty, and merely describe the (modern) process of dealing with them and defining their existing position. But this would be to miss a great deal of what is most interesting and instructive in the history of the country. It would require, however, a complete separate dissertation to do anything like justice to the early history of all the different tribes and foreign sovereigns who obtained possessions or held dominion in these parts, and to explain the peculiarity of the Aryan element which has largely coloured both the population and the language of Western India. It is necessary to bear in mind both the *tribal* or *racial* movements, and also the *dynastic* changes; because both together throw light on the existence of the many diverse rulerships, domains and vassal estates that once covered the whole country and have left their traces to the present day. It is also necessary to bear in mind the geographical peculiarities which made such frequent invasions and tribal settlements possible. At present, therefore, what can be said on these subjects must be confined to a summary of the probable results of inquiry rather than extended to a detailed survey of the evidence. And another limit will be set by bearing in mind that the main object is to give such preliminary information as will directly serve to make intelligible the illustrations of over-lord tenures, their transformations, partitions, resump-tions, and ultimate modern settlement, which I shall hope to present.

A few words first on the geographical features. I have already indicated in my book on "The Indian Village Community"* the general bearing and importance of the subject. Here I will only repeat that the great network of "Vindhyan" hill-ranges (with the long and fertile valley of the Narbada river in the midst of them) which run across middle India almost from West to East, served in early times as a general and effective barrier between "Upper India" and the central and southern regions. This, indeed, is shown by the very different types of race, language, and customs prevailing on either side of the line. Southern India was not "hinduized" by any general Aryan or quasi-Aryan immigration, but by the gradual settlement of Brahman hermits and travelling teachers, aided by the adventures of individual chiefs of the warrior class. But at the western extremity of the hill barrier there is a change in the direction of the main range above the Narbada; and the whole of Gujarāt (and consequently the Narbada Valley itself and the N.W. Dākhan) lies open to an invasion from the Indus Valley, Sindh, and the country on the West. Nothing but a desert track intervened, and that could in some measure be skirted round. But this route would facilitate the advance of early Aryans and

* London: Longmans, 1896, 1 vol.

later tribes like the Saka (Indo-Scythians), and the Moslems from Ghazni, chiefly when they came from the Indus Valley or the Western passes beyond it. For a very long period, at any rate, there was no intercourse with the Aryan settlers of the Ganges Valley to the N.E.: they were cut off by the great expanse of desert and jungle country and by the inhospitable hills of Rājputāna. And it was not till these became gradually occupied that a line of route from the Jamnā by Ajmer and Ujjain became practicable* or well known.

II. THE TRIBES OF THE WEST.

Now of the variety of tribes (confining myself to those which hold local chiefships or are connected with landed estates) in Gujarāt, all are either early Aryan (Yādava) or late Indo-Scythian; or they are of that stock included in the denomination "Rājput," whose origin (possibly Parthian or Scythian) is not traceable. They have become adopted into the Hindu system and its "thirty-six" royal clans or houses, of which in modern times they really form the bulk. And there are some more peculiar tribes like the Bāla (Vālo) Kāthi, Ahīr, Mēd and Jetwā (they always go together) and the later Gujar, who may, or may not, by custom, rank as "Rājput," and who are connected—some with earlier, some with later—Turanian, Scythian or Yuchī invasions. A few estates are held by Moslem foreigners, but they do not need notice at present. Many of the existing races at the present day are certainly of very mixed blood, not a few being the offspring of a noble ancestor who married "a daughter of the land."

It is known, but not sufficiently remembered, that when the first Aryan clans (the Arya-varṇa of the Rīgveda) came at last on to the plain country of India at the N.W. corner, two important groups gradually became distinct. Putting aside any clans that settled in Kābul, Kāsmir and the Himalayan districts, the two great groups were (1) those traditionally descended from YADU and ANU, who occupied the Indus Valley down to the mouth of the river (where Potala was) and some adjacent parts of Lower and Central Panjāb. It was the latter (Madra, Bāhika, Kaikeya, etc.) that are traditionally attributed to Anu. I call this group "distinct," because the time came when the other important group, the descendants of PURU, separated and moved off to the Jamnā River where they settled, first, in the limited tract of "Brahmavarta," and then extended eastward over the wider realm of "Aryavarta," and beyond it to the plains of Bengal.

The consequence was that the Indus Valley and Panjāb Aryans were completely separated; their land was regarded as impure, as we learn from the Mahābhārata. Even as late as the time of Panini (writing probably about 300 B.C.) the Madra, Bāhikā, etc., are still treated as outsiders—"destitute of Kingly Government and without Brahmanical ordinances." The whole group had no share in that peculiar growth of social, political, and (above all) *strict caste*, economy and the Purāṇic religion (to say

* The occupation of Bikaner, Jaisalmer, and the West of Rājputāna does not appear to have taken place till the advance of early Moslem, and perhaps still earlier, invaders forced the tribes of Hindustān or the Panjāb plains into these less promising regions. We hear nothing about them before the 8th-11th centuries of our Era.

nothing of literary, legal, and philosophical lore) all of which developed in the Ganges Valley among the "Eastern" Aryans. In the Ganges Valley, side by side with the descendants of Puru, we find associated another group known as the "Solar" clans of a descent not specified in Vedic literature. They were however able to settle in the same geographical region, but in separate portions—in Oudh, and in a few places beyond, under the Himalayan hills.*

The important consequence of this division was that, the "western" or Indus Valley Aryans—who alone in the first ages penetrated into Gujarāt, the Narbada Valley, and N.W. Dakhan—could have had no further caste development than that which had already taken place in Vedic times :—and that was of a most elementary and indefinite character. In fact they could have had none of the later, Brahmanic, religious or social peculiarities. The Aryan element was therefore readily fused with the earlier original, as well as with subsequent foreign, tribal elements ; and the language, and most other features of the local population show marks of this—being distinct both from those of the Ganges Valley (Hindustan) and from the south of India. The Western people, who probably originally practised a sort of nature-worship, not unconnected with worship of the Sun symbol and the Serpent, in time exchanged their old indefinite faith for Jainism and Buddhism, and though of course, in the process of time a king here or there is recorded as a worshipper of the (later Purāṇic) "Sivā" or "Vishnu," the universal acceptance of orthodox Hinduism was a much later occurrence.†

All the clans that I can call "Aryan" in the West, are descended from YADU : such are the Yādava of the Dakhan, and Surāshtra, the Haihaiyā of

* The ancestors of the Solar races—Ikshwāka (and his better known descendants Rāma and Kusa)—are not connected by any human genealogy with Yadu, Puru, Anu, and two other brothers. In the rare mention of Ikshwāka in the Rīgveda, he (or rather a "son" of his) appears as having a kingdom at Potala on the Lower Indus ; and it is curious that several legends of later times appear in which adventurers of the "Western" (Indus Valley) group claim common origin with the (Solar) "House of Rāma" in Oudh. It is quite possible that the "Solar" family in its original state may really have had two branches, one of which remained in the Indus region, and the other moved eastward to Oudh. When the latter became civilized and famous in story, it was natural that members of the western branches should recall the tradition of a common origin, and claim kinship.

† I need hardly point out that the Sindhi, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī languages prove Aryan origin—the Sindhi containing exceptionally archaic Sanskrit elements. Sanskrit elements in a dialect do not indeed always prove that an Aryan race dominated from the earliest times, unless they are themselves (as in the Sindhi) archaic. The Marāṭhī is said to be "particularly Brahmanic and connected with the *later* Sanskrit" (J. A. Baines, *Parliam. Blue Book on Ind. Census of 1891*, p. 141). This is what we should expect : when the Brahmins settled in numbers in the Dakhan and introduced orthodox Hinduism, the language would be affected accordingly. And the Brahmins, so addicted to hermit life and to pilgrimages, early began to move to distant parts, and to return even to the "impure" Panjāb. In the Mahābhārata we already find a colony of pious Brahmins in the Valley of the Payoshnī (Tāpti R.) and even as far as Gokarna on the W. Coast. But the more general introduction of Brahman teachers was much later. Compare (*e.g.*) the traditional importation of the 18 darjā (or clans or houses) of Brahmins by the Kadamba King Mayura-Varma in North Kānara : this must have been about the 7th or 8th century A.D.

the Narbada Valley, the Sumra, and Samā of Sindh, and their later branches the Chudāsama, Jhadeja, etc.*

The Sumrā, Samā, Chudasamā, Jhadeja (all from Sindh) are relatively modern, compared with the times of the Epics and the Purānas; but even in those early days, the western localization of the Yādava is traceable. Not only do we hear of Sahasra Arjuna and the Haihaiyā in the Narbada Valley: but the Bhojā, a great people whose home, though uncertain, was at any rate far south of the Ganges and near Mālwa, are connected with the (Yādav) Haihaiyā. The King of Vidarbha (Berar) is a descendant of Kroshtī a "son" of Yadu. Moreover, it is almost certain that the old Yādav and Chalukhyān kingdoms of the N.W. Dakhn highlands (near the sources of the Godāvari river) represent the origin of the Aryan element in the Marāthā clans whose country was Mahārāshtra. To this day most of the chief Marāthā houses claim Yādava descent.

Closely associated with the really Aryan Yādava are the "AGNIKULA" families, whom we cannot call Aryan, since we cannot trace the slightest genealogical or traditional connection with the "Solar" or "Lunar" tribes, nor, positively, with the Yādava.† The legend that they are descended from four ancestors who were miraculously produced from the sacrificial fire on Mount Abu—a place not connected with any early "Hindu" developments—may safely be taken to indicate that their origin was unknown, or, being foreign, was purposely concealed when they became partially converted to Brahmanism, or espoused the Brahman cause. Of the four Agnikula tribes, the *Parīhārā* are hardly known; at all events, they do not enter into our story. The *Chauhān* (or Chahumān) centre

* And there is really very little connection between the great YADU family and that of PURU, which really (together with the Solar clans) represents the Ganges Valley Aryans. In fact, there would have been none at all except for the chance circumstance that at a remote date a branch of the Yādava (or more exactly the Haihaiyā) in the person of Surasena, extended from the Narbada Valley to a territory around the Chambal River and Mathura. Krishnā, who was probably a real chief of the Yādava, was attacked in this advanced position by the (Paurava) King of Māgadhā (Jarasandha), and was forced to fly to Surāshtra, where, however, his clan were no strangers, since his brother Balarāma was already settled there and had married the local King (Revatā's) daughter. Krishnā himself became connected with the Pāndu princes adjoining Surasena-land, by marriage, and so came to be their ally in the war of the Mahābhārata. The great body of the Yādava were beyond the reach of these wars, and thus probably escaped the destruction that must have overtaken most of the old Lunar *Kshatriyā* houses. The Yādava in general are found not in any connection with the Ganges Valley tribes, but with the so-called Agnikulā Rājputs, especially the Chālukhyā and the Pramāra, and with the earlier Ahir.

† Nor would they have become numbered among the North Indian royal tribes, but for the adventurous spirit that led them to wander from their home, after the accident which brought a Chauhān from Ajmer, to be connected by marriage with Anangpāl Tuār; so that when the prince was left without heirs, the Delhi throne (shortly before the extinction of the Hindu monarchy) passed to a Chauhān prince. The fame of the Chauhāns—Tod represents them as a really noble race—is confined to Rājputāna. Tod has given an account of many of the customs of these "Rājput" clans which shows them worshippers of the Sun, the Horse, etc., using flesh and spirituous drinks. They have nothing to do with the Vedic Kshatriyā, and are exceedingly unlike the old warrior caste of the Hindu books, though, of course, in the present day they are all Hindu by profession.

traditionally round Ajmer and hardly affect Gujarāt history. The other two—*Chālukhyā* and *Pramāra*—are important, not only in Gujarāt but in the Upper Dakhan generally. Sir Walter Elliot states that the western CHĀLUKHYĀ claim a "Lunar" (meaning Yādava) origin;* but the clan emblems or symbols of the two are different. This however may be merely the result of a separation of branches that originally were united. Both * *Chālukhyā* and *Pramāra* certainly appear to have intermarried with Yādava houses, showing that the tribes must be either originally different, or so long distinct as to have forgotten any connection. We shall find a dynasty of Chālukhya or Solānkhī kings in Gujarāt (A.D. 940-1215) coming from the N.W. Dakhan. And the succeeding house of Vāghelā is clearly a branch clan. So too it is said that the Jhāla who acquired large dominions (as we shall see) are connected with the same clan.†

The PRAMĀRA, whatever their origin, are certainly ancient: all traditions point to Mālwa as their centre: we find a Pramāra lady married to the last of the Balabhī kings, and escaping from the destruction of the city. She becomes the mother of the founder of the renowned Mewār houses—Grahilot, Sisōdyā, Gohil, etc. Kinloch Forbes refers to an immigration of a body of Pramāra (of the Sodhā clan) into Gujarāt, where they received grants of land in the days of the Vāghelā princes, and after the Moslem attacks had begun. This particular group may have come (at the time) from Sindh, but as to their having an *ancient* settlement there (as Forbes reports) it is not borne out by the Sindh histories.‡

I have placed these AGNIKULĀ tribes next the Aryan YĀDAVA, because of their admission to rank, as well as of the appearance of some undefined connection of origin. There are some other tribes in Gujarāt, connected with ancient chiefships and landed estates which I must also mention without being able to offer much suggestion as to their origin or race.

The BĀLA with their vassals the KĀTHI are traced by Cunningham to a Turanian invasion of India about the 6th century B.C. (Temp. Darius Hystaspes). The former do not appear in Gujarāt till the middle of the second century of our era, and then as coming from Lohkot, which is a place in the Panjāb or Sindh. The founding of Bālābhīpura will however better be mentioned in the brief section on the Rulers of Gujarāt which follows this. The Kāthi, who can hardly be doubted to be the (Panjāb) Kathæi of Alexander's historians, only came to Kaçch (and thence spread to the peninsula ultimately called after their name) in, or shortly before, the 14th century. Some Bāla (Vālo) still remain, and are always allowed Rājput rank, as are the Jetwā, but not the others.

* See his paper in J. R. A. S., vol. iv. I take occasion to say that there seems no reason to doubt that the "Solānkhī" are identical. The Solānkhī Kings of Gujarāt (Anhilwāra, *i.e.*), were directly derived from the known Chālukhyā centre in the N.W. Dakhan; and the Gujarāt bards use the two names quite indifferently for the same princes. Solānkhī (or, Sulānkhai) is a colloquial or dialectic form; of course, it does not occur in formal inscriptions or grants.

† See Rāsmālā, p. 229.

‡ See Rāsmālā, p. 227; but confer Hughes *Gazetteer of Sindh*, p. 862, where it is said that the Sindh Sodhā came to Sindh no earlier than the 13th century and from Mālwa. There is still a small Sodhā State (Dhāt-Umrkot) in the Thar and Pārkar district, near the possessions of Bhātī and Jarejas (both Yādava clans). The idea of the Sogdi, Sogdiana, etc., being connected with Sodhā is quite without any evidence.

A very ancient race of AHIR also appears in Gujarāt, once a ruling race, as inscriptions and grants mention their princes. Traditionally they appear in frequent connection with the Yādava—at least in the Krishna legend. Possibly they may be Turanian.*

The GUJAR, whose relations with the west are discussed briefly in a note on the *names of the country* (appended to this paper) belong to a very much later period. It is generally accepted now, that they represent descendants of the (Kushān) Yuchi or Tochari. They could only have taken to a kingdom in Western Rājputāna and advanced into Gujarāt, after a considerable period of settlement in North India, where the first invasions of their forefathers are dated in the last quarter of the last century B.C. We have a small ancient colony of JERWĀ with their MED followers—the latter being the same people who gave their name to the district of Merwāra. They most probably belong to the later Indo-Scythian (Sakā) invasion before that of the Kushān. They obtained (in Gujarāt) a small territory around the Barda hills. Possibly this was late in the 7th century about the time when the fall of the Bālabhi Kings gave some opportunity for fresh seizures of territory.

Lastly, of the (so-called) aboriginal races, it must suffice to mention the black, arrow-shooting BAIL of the hill fastnesses, who often appear, picturesquely enough, in the ballads, as mercenaries of the Rājput chiefs. Also the KOLI, who seem to have mixed more with other tribes—even with the Rājput; since there are not unimportant Koli (or half-Koli) chiefships. It is the Koli who furnish most of the turbulent frontier barons' estates.

III. THE RULERS OF GUJARĀT.

It is necessary to bear in mind that when, in Gujarāt, we hear of some great foreign suzerain ruler, like Aṣoka or the Gupta Emperors, or even a king ruling from Balabhipur, it by no means implies that there were no local dynasties. Chiefs or princes who (perhaps) acknowledged a more or less nominal dependence on the authority of the principal king, extended over the inhabited parts, from Kaçch to the Eastern hills, and were either contemporary or subordinate. In later historic times we have direct evidence of such local chiefs side by side with the King at Anhilpur; and we may safely conclude that it was always so.

We have no information regarding the earliest—probably tribal—dominions of Aryan or other nationality. Nor can we tell at what date the first Yādava, or possibly Chāwara (Saura), or Ahir, chiefs began to dominate the country.

The edicts of Aṣoka inscribed on the rock at Girnār (as they are at so many other places in India) would show that the Buddhist emperor was at least suzerain *circa* 250 B.C. But in a second Girnār rock-inscription of another king (some 400 years later) there is a detailed account of a tank and bridge constructed by Aṣoka "the Maurya," which was restored

* The Invasion of 6th cent. B.C. certainly had a considerable effect on the rulerships in India. I need hardly refer to Tod's notice of the Vishnu Purāna, which declares that from a date (which by calculation agrees with the 6th cent. B.C.) no real *Kshatriyā* princes would remain, but all the rulers be Sudra (foreigners), Sakā, etc.

by this later King. This shows the Aṣoka's rule was sufficiently direct to concern itself with local public works. The general empire of the Mauryā dynasty came to an end about 178 B.C.* Shortly after that date there was a general movement both of the Baktrian Greeks and of the Su and Tahia tribes (Sakæ and Dahæ) all being impelled forward by the trans-frontier victories of the great Tartar Yuchi or Kushān (Korāno) tribe. The Su or Abar had already long before (6th century B.C.) furnished some of the races settled in India. The Bāla, Kāthi, and the Gakkar, of the north Panjāb were probably of that stock. Now, at a much later time, other branches of the same family once more obtain dominion. About 176-163 B.C., the advancing Saka chiefs expelled the Greeks from Sogdiana, and Greek princes for a time prevailed as rulers in Northern India. Menander (about 150 B.C.) extended his conquests as far as the Ganges. He had also some kind of suzerain rule in Gujarāt where his coins, and those of Apollodotus, are found. The author of the *Periplus* notes that these old silver *drachmæ* were still current at the port of Barygaza (Bharoch) in his time. In Northern India, the Greek Kings—of whom the last was Hermæus (B.C. 60)—were closely followed by, and partly contemporary with, the "Northern Satraps" of Parthian or Scythian origin (120-57 B.C.). And at the same time other Saka hordes were pressed forward into Lower Sindh and what is now Biluchistān, and from that location a series of princes obtained a dominion in Gujarāt.†

It was these "Western Satraps" whose coins (and a rock inscription at Gīrnār) enable us to trace a succession of kings from A.D. 78 to beyond 388. They were formerly called the "Sah" Kings; but this was due to a misreading of the title or style (Senā or) Simhā. The more usual designation is derived from the Parthian (or old Persian) title of "Kshatrapa" which they at first adopted, implying dependence on some over-lord; and when they became independent they called themselves "mahākshatrapa." I think there is little doubt that just as either Kadphises or Kanishkā in the north, originated the "Samvat" or era dating from 57 B.C., so the first western Satrap originated the Saka era (from A.D. 78).‡

* Arch. Reports (N. India), vol. ii., 41.

† The Northern Satraps or Saka Kings had coins which are barbarous imitations of the Greek coinage of Euthydemus, Heliokles, etc. Their coins found in the Panjāb and also their Taxila copper-plate dated in the 78th year of the King (Mauas) are of Mauas, Azes, and Azilises (with contemporaries at Peshawar—Vonones, etc.), B.C. 126-57). Those of Sindh and the West are represented by Gondophares (beginning of the Christian Era). And from these Nahapāna, the first of the Western Satraps of Gujarāt, came, and his long line of successors. In the North, the Saka Kings did not last very long as they were overthrown by the Kushān Wēma-Kadphises and Kanishka who followed them before the beginning of our era. But this did not affect Western India, and the Western Satraps reigned for nearly 4 centuries.

‡ See Arch. Reports (North India), iii. 44 ff. The Hindus appear to have made "Wēma Kadpisa" (or Kadphises) into "Vikramāditya," and when the Kushān lost their rule, a later Vikramāditya (Sri-Harshā V.) revived the era and called it definitely by this name. "Samvat" dates actually specified as "Vikramāditya" are not known before the 6th century. This is why there is an objection to interpret western dates merely called "Samvat"—before this time, by the Vikramāditya standard. The Saka era is commonly said to have commemorated the victory of Salivāhanā over the Scythians; but the story was likely to have been invented to glorify a hero, who however was only very partially successful. Really it was the era of the Western Satraps.

Of Nahapāna's successors, the names of the 27 or 28 are preserved to us. There are also many coins—some dated. The first ruler seems to have left no heirs, and after some interval he was succeeded by a collateral, Chastāna of Ājmer who afterwards added Mālwa to his dominions: he is surely the Tiastanos mentioned by Ptolemy as King of Ujjain (A.D. 111-136 is his probable date). His grandson, Rudradāman, is prominent as the author of the Girnar inscription dated Saka year 72 = A.D. 150. It is in this record that Ānarta and Surāshtra are mentioned as distinct localities or districts. And we are told that the Satrap's authority extended to Mārwar and other adjacent places to the east, as well as the Konkan districts on the coast.*

We have no information at what capital or centre these Western Satraps reigned. They were conquered by the Gupta Kings of Kanauj (and afterwards Ujjain) in A.D. 409.† Kumāra Gupta's coins are very numerous in Gujarāt, more so than his successor Skandagupta's, though this prince furnished the third of the Girnar rock inscriptions, showing his suzerainty over the country. Skanda was (as far as is known) the last but one of the Guptas.‡

The next series of kings is the first who are known to have built a large and important city. They are consequently called the Balabhipur Kings. They seem to have had their origin some time before 318 A.D., *i.e.* while the western Satraps were still in power, and as their dependents:—indeed their inscription expressly calls them, at first, "Senapati," *i.e.*, military governors under some superior. Their line must have also survived, for more than two centuries, the conquest of the Guptas; and if I rightly understand when the "Gupta era" began, the so-called "Balabhi era" (adopted by the local kings—probably when they finished building their city) is one and the same. The Balabhi era certainly begins 318 A.D.§

The Mewār annals represent a certain Bāla prince, Kankasena, as coming from a settlement at Lohkot (in the Panjāb or Sindh)|| at a date which

* See Dr. Bühler in *Ind. Antiquary*, vol. vii.; and Pandit B. Indrajī's paper in *J. R. A. S.*, xxii. (1890), p. 640 ff.

† In the Allāhabād Inscription the earlier Samudra Gupta is said to have conquered and restored various "Southern" Kings, of whom one is "Dhanamjaya of Kausthalipura." I must not enter into the question. If the Gujarāt peninsula city of Kusasthalipur is meant, there are some difficulties. For this occurrence (about 345 or 350 A.D.) must have been when the Satraps were still reigning, and none of them (or of the contemporary Balabhipur Kings) is called by the Puranic Sanskrit name Dhanamjaya (it is the equivalent of Arjuna). It is possible that the framer of the flowery inscription may have substituted what he considered an elegant classical name for one of the more "barbaric" names of Satraps such as Dāmasinha or Jayadāman; but this is only a bare conjecture.

‡ See the Pandit Indrajī's Paper in *J. R. A. S.* for 1890, p. 662; and compare Mr. V. A. Smith *id.* for Oct., 1897, p. 860.

§ The matter is hardly doubtful, as the Somnāth temple inscription (see reprint of Tod, vol. i., Appendix IV.), gives its date expressly in four different eras, *viz.*, the Balabhi, the Vikramāditya, the Sri Singhī (of the Gohil chiefs) and the Hijri. The date is 1320 Vik. which = 945 Bal. Hence Balabhi era 1 = 375 Vik. = 318 A.D. It does not follow that the first "Senapati" began the era: it may have been counted from the founding of the city, or from the 1st of the rulers who became "Kings."

|| The suggestion that Kankasena was a "Solar" Prince of the house of Rāma (certainly a very old tradition) can only be understood of a very indirect connection.

Tod makes equal to A.D. 144 or 145, and obtaining territory somewhere in the central or southern part of Gujarāt (near Dholkā I believe). Nothing is heard of the family for several generations; but in time they rose to power as "senapati," or military commanders, as I have stated. Subsequently they appear to have come to terms with the Gupta kings, after the close of the Satrap Dynasty: and we learn that the third successor received "his inauguration from the great King himself," which looks as if the Vāla princes had been allowed by the Guptā to assume local sovereignty. Unfortunately we have no definite date for these kings. Two copper-plate inscriptions (of Dhandūka and Kairā) confirm the succession of some eighteen or twenty kings, and most of their names, but that is all.* The first reigns must have been short; for though the second *senapati* is the son of "Bhatārka"—the first, the third, fourth, and fifth are *brothers* of the second, and the sixth again a *son* of his predecessor. The seventh (Sri Dhāra Sena I.) is therefore in any case only great-grandson of the first, and the Kairā plate makes him grandson only. It also speaks of the "beautiful kingdom of Valabhadra"—doubtless the original form of the term "Balhāra," which was commonly used for these Gujarāt princes and their kingdom. All that can be said is that the Vāla rulers must have begun while the Western Satraps were still in power, and have continued under the Guptas and some considerable time beyond. Their rule was somewhere between the early 4th and the close of the 7th centuries. The fall of the dynasty is also involved in some uncertainty, which will not be cleared up till we have a reference to the actual words of the Jain chronicle *Çatrunjayamahātma*. Tod says it shows "Balabhi era 205," which certainly is = A.D. 523: but this is probably his *inference*, not that there is actual mention of "Balabhi." Cunningham gives the date as "Samvat 580," and (as he justly observes) that cannot mean the Vikramāditya era but the Saka, in which case the date would be = 658 A.D. Now as Hwen Thsang visited Balabhipur (and Gujarāt) in 640-642, and found the city particularly flourishing and "interviewed" the king, Çilāditya VI., the city could not have been overthrown before the middle of the 7th century.† The ruins of

Naturally it was utilized as a bardic compliment, to dignify the origin of the royal family of Mewār. It may have so far a real foundation in that possible division of the original "Solar" house, of which we have seen indications. It will be observed that the tradition, while connecting the founder with the Oudh princes, represents him as coming from Lohkot, which may be Lahore, but certainly is in the Lower Central Panjāb or Sindh—very far from Oudh. And the branches were separated from very ancient times.

* The Dhandūka plate (see Thomas's Prinsep's "Essays," vol. i., 255), merely gives the date "as the 8th in the dark half of Vaisākha"; and the year is quite uncertain—the figure 9 is not reliable. The Kaira plate is confidently given as "year 365," but Mr. Thomas's note explains that the figures are extremely doubtful. If they are correct they would surely be the Sakā era, and so equal A.D. 413. All the dates suggested at the side of Prinsep's catalogue are quite impossible, and there is not the least ground for attributing the first "*Bhatārka*" to the year 144 A.D. Even believing the legend of Kankasena and *his* date, it does not imply at all that Kankasena was the first King of Balabhi: much the contrary, as I have stated above.

† Sir Jas. Campbell notes a copper plate of the last Çilāditya, as reigning in Valabhi Samvat 447. (See Bo. Gaz., viii., p. 274, referring to a note of Burgess's which I have not seen.) That would make the King still reigning in A.D. 642. The Vāla chiefs were

Balabhipur—still called Vamilāpur, which Cunningham says is a peasant metathesis for Valami (Valabhi)-pur—exist at a place called Wāla, about 18 miles N.W. of Bhāonagar. They are marked by unusually large bricks and by large phallic emblems and figures of bulls—the latter natural, and better executed than the conventional “Nandi” of Sivaite worship.

According to the Ratnmāla, the next dynasty built a new capital at Anhilpur near the modern Patan.* And the bards give a list of kings which does not begin very definitely, as to date, and probably allows for a period of disorder and uprising of local chiefs after the fall of the great city. Ultimately the new dynasty was formed of the old-established chiefs of the CHĀWARĀ (modern Chāvda) tribe. One of them had his seat, we are told, at Panchāsar on the N.E. shore of the Lesser Runn of Cutch, and his successor founded Anhilpur, in S. 802, which *may* be Vikramaditya era, and = 745 A.D. (If Sakā era = 880 A.D.)

The line goes on to Samantā Sinhā, who dies without heirs in A.D. 941. The latter part of the dynasty, at any rate, is quite historical. It should be remarked (according to the caution already given) that the occurrence of wholly or partly contemporary evidence, in copper plates; of *other* kings, is not at all surprising, since there is no reason to believe that either the suzerains or even the local Balabhi kings or those of Anhilwāra ruled to the exclusion of local chiefs and Rājās. In this instance, however, the series of copper plates which survives, may very well be of the Balabhipur kings themselves, and of their relations settled in local kingdoms. They represent a family called by the names of Govinda, Karkarājā, Indrarājā, etc. These are dated in A.D. 753-812; and one with a doubtful date *may* be as early as 708, but is more probably 908 A.D. Some of them clearly appear in certain localities (e.g. in the Rewakānṭhā and the Tapti Valley). They call themselves of “the lineage of Rāshtrakūṭa.” According to the plates, Govinda restored the prosperity of Surāshṭra, which by its misfortune had lost the “appellation of Surājyā” (the beautiful kingdom). Cunningham shows that he must have been reigning about the time of the fall of Valabhipur and may well be the very author of that fall. Indeed there is no reason why these princes should not be the very Saurā (or Chāwara) kings who founded Anhilpura: for the later kings, Yograjā, Kshemarājā, of the annals (who are definitely named) are all *after* the inscriptions, while the earlier or more legendary ones are not *named* at all

not at all exterminated by the fall of the city, though the dynasty ended. It is known that the Valabhi era continued to be used long after. One inscription (Rāsmāla, p. 147), uses it as late as Val. era 850 = A.D. 1168. And we have a copper plate of Dantī-durgā dated Sakā 675 = A.D. 753 which speaks of the grantor as having defeated the Balabhi prince; and Bālaḍes is mentioned even later than that. The Bāla princes may well have retired to some local hereditary chiefships in the neighbourhood, one, at least, of which exists at Dhānk to the present day.

* It was some way N.W. of Ahmadābād, on the Kuwarkti (or Saraswatī) river. Lassen's supposed name of Analavata is quite imaginary. The name *Anhillapura* occurs in an inscription at Somnāth (dated 1215 A.D.): and in one at Abu dated A.D. 1157, Kumārpāla King of “*Srimat Anhil*” is mentioned. The Moslems transposed the letters and made it “Nahrwala”; this shows that the “h” is original in the name, and that it has nothing to do with the Sanskrit word *anala* (fire). Why should the Chāwara make use of a pure Sanskrit word at all?

by the bards, but *designated* by fancy appellations as *Jaiçakra*, a name which is expressly attributed in compliment.* And so "*Ban-rājā*" is merely "the king born in the forest." There is also a contemporary plate of a chief (*Adhipati*) ruling in the Barda hills, at *Bhumilika*, in *Saurāshtra-mandala*.† From the locality he may be a *Jetwā* chief.

After the *Chāwara* dynasty ended, the succession (by a very probable and natural event as related by the bards) passed to an offshoot of the neighbouring *Chalukyā* sovereigns of *Kalyān*. Mr. K. Forbes relies on a copper plate dated S. 1266 = A.D. 1209,‡ giving the list of the *SOLANKHI* kings, *Mūlraj*, *Chamundarājdev*, *Durlabha*, *Bhimdev I.*, *Karndev*, *Jai Singh* (*Sidhrāj*), *Kumārpāl*, *Ajaipāl*, *Mulraj II.*, *Bhimdev II.* This is confirmed by other evidence. *Durlabha* had also a brother *Walabha*, who also seems to have reigned for a short time while the father of both was still alive. Possibly some early Moslem attacks occurred in *Chamund's* reign, but the *Mirāti Ahmadi* is clearly in error in saying that *Chamund* was reigning when *Somnāth* was sacked by *Mahmud* in A.D. 1024-5, for *Bhimdev I.* was certainly then on the throne.§ This dynasty reached its highest level in *Sidh Raj*, who was the greatest of the line and seems to have subdued, or rendered subordinate, the *Junāgarh Rās* and other local princes all round. *Kumārapāl*, his successor, was at one time a *Sivaite* and then a *Jain*. The last king, *Bhimdev II.*, really saw the Moslem raids becoming permanent conquests: though at best only a more or less continuous military occupation was maintained. *Kutab-din* defeated the King in 1194 A.D., who however lingered on in his kingdom till his death in 1215.

The succession then passes to a collateral branch called *VĀGHELA*, in the person of a local chief—probably a minister at the court of the preceding dynasty. It is not clear who the first princes or chiefs really were: probably it was a time of much confusion. We hear of a *Visaldev*, who appears to have given his name to the port of *Visalnagar*, and to have founded *Darb-hāwati* or *Dabhoi*. After him comes *Arjundev*, who is mentioned in the *Somnāth* temple inscription, which is dated V.S. 1320 = A.D. 1263. One *Sārangdev* is said by K. Forbes to be mentioned in an *Abu* inscription as

* K. Forbes says it means "the pinnacle of fame," but *Çakra* is a (late) name for *Indra*. I should not be surprised to hear, but cannot pretend to suggest, that he is one of the *Indrarājās* of the plates.

† B. Gaz., viii., 275. The date is S. 714, which is most likely to be a *Sakā* date = 792 A.D. If it is *Vikramadityā*, it would be 657 A.D., while *Balabhipur* was still standing.

‡ See *Rāsmāla* 49. It was found at *Ahmadābād*, and given to the R. A. Soc.

§ The way the *Ayin-i-Akbari* gives the dates also shows that the author felt uncertain. I need not go into the very useless discussion about *Firishṭa's* "*Dāblishīm*," and who they were. They were certainly nothing to do with *Anhilpur* or its Kings. *Mahmud* did not overthrow *Anhilpur*; he occupied it temporarily and passed on to *Somnāth*, which from its real or supposed wealth was the object of attraction. Afterwards on his return journey, he avoided the *Anhilpur Rājā* who opposed him in full force, and took a short cut by the desert (for this purpose), and his army suffered a good deal in consequence. The whole of the occurrences connected with the (Persianized) names "*Dāblishīm*," whatever they represent, refer to putting some local chief on the throne of *Somnāth*, not of *Anhilpura*. It is clear throughout that the prince of *Somnāth* was a separate ruler, and *Bhimdev* comes to his aid, unsuccessfully however, as a neighbouring and friendly sovereign.

reigning at Anhilpur in A.D. 1294. And the last of the Hindu kings was Karn, surnamed Ghelo (or Galāro) said to mean "the insane." In 1296 'Alāu-d-din Khilji had raised himself to the throne of Delhi, and sent his (wife's) brother Alp Khān (or his own brother having the title of the Ulugh Khān—there is some confusion between them) to conquer Gujarāt. This he effected, forcing the last of the rājās to fly for refuge to the Yādav (now called Mahrattā) prince Rāmdeo of Deogir. What became of him we have no further information.*

A period of general turmoil and fighting then followed; the Moslem leaders quarrelled among themselves, and we may be sure the Rājput "bhūmiyās" (landed chiefs) were not idle. At that time it will be remembered the Moslem headquarters were formed round Anhilpur; and the governors had seized the ports of Cambay, Bharoch and Surāt. The Vāghela chiefs had still old hereditary estates of their own, west of the Sābarmati river, the Jhāla chiefs held the middle tract (east of Kāthiāwār) still called Jhālāwar. Koli chiefs held the Chūñwāl, and the old Rā princes of Junāgarh were still unsubdued, while the Gohils on the coast held Ghoghā and the Island fort of Pirambh. Vadhel and Vāja chiefs also held part of the coast about Okhā. All the hill country, N.E. and S.E., was held by turbulent Rājput and Koli chiefs and their relations and vassals, from Īdar to Champāner.

I pass over the period of nearly a century, during which continual fighting went on, various expeditions were again and again undertaken to Gujarāt, and several governors in vain attempted to obtain permanent control of the Rājputs and also to curb the Moslem chiefs who had obtained local possessions, and were called Amīrān-i-ḡada (or Amīrān-i-jadida = new nobles). They seem to have been introduced as a sort of "free lances" or leaders of mercenary troops, and having once got a footing they could neither be dislodged nor kept in order.† In 1391 Zafr Khān was appointed governor, and he succeeded, for the first time, in making good his position: for he became independent in 1396, and seven years later (1403 A.D.) formally put his son on the throne. After about two years, however, this son died—perhaps was poisoned; and Zafr Khān himself assumed the insignia of independent royalty as Sultān Muzaffar Shāh I. (1407 A.D.). Fourteen Sultāns succeeded him, till the last (incapable) King Muzaffar Shāh III. submitted to Akbar in 1572-1583, and Gujarāt became a province of the Mughal empire. After that, the history is well known, and needs no further preliminary remark.

But as I have traced an outline of the principal dynasties from Aṣoka down to the Vāghelā kings, it is desirable to add a few lines to show how the more notable of the local chiefs came by their territories or possessions.

* His daughter, celebrated in stories as Dewalrāni, became, after many adventures, the wife of the Moslem King's son. In hopes of avoiding this fate, her father was fain to consent to her marrying the Marāṭha chief's son. But it was unwillingly, since he (a branch of the Chalukhyā) considered his caste superior. This shows that by this time the Marāṭha or Mahratta were in reality a mixed race;—the *pure* blood of the Yādava would not have been unworthy of a Chalukhyā marriage.

† See Bayley ("History of Gujarāt"), p. 43.

It seems probable that the Chudāsamā clan furnished the Rā (princes) of Junāgarh.* Sir Jas. Campbell (on what grounds I do not know) suggests 875 A.D. as the date of the arrival of the Chudāsamā; if so there must certainly have been many Yādava local princes long before them, for it is hardly possible that the Krishna legend and his brother's marriage to Revatī (daughter of the King of Ānarta) in the far peninsula, should be entirely without some foundation in early tribal history. In the confusion which followed the death of the last Solankhi king, some Rāthor chief, by force and treachery, obtained possessions beyond Somnāth in the Okhamandal: they became the authors of the clans Vādhel and Vāja.†

I have incidentally alluded, already, to the chiefs of Jhālāwar, who gained possession no earlier than the time of King Karn Vāghelā. A clan of no great importance, called Makwāna, had long been settled in the northern part of the peninsula, and remained unnoticed till one of their chiefs, Harpāl by name, gave new life to the clan. Harpāl, by the way, was born of a Sumrā (Yādava) mother, from Sindh. The bardic legends about the exploits of this chief and the origin of the new clan name, are given in Forbes' *Rāsmāla*. Stripped of their fabulous element, they seem to imply that Harpāl was really a man of power and resource, and that he was able to render some service to the Vāghelā Rājā, who in return made him the grant (or "jāgīr" as we should say in modern times) of a number of villages which Harpāl was adroit enough to extend to a considerable territory.‡ At any rate, it is a fact that Harpāl's descendants long held the whole tract called Jhālāwād.

Another and still more famous group of clan possessions is on the coast of the peninsula—still marked Gohilwād. There seems to have been a double settlement, possibly of two different branches. The first estate was around Māngrol on the coast, where there is a Gohil inscription dated S. Vik. 1202 = 1146 A.D., and this would place the first Gohil success (and the origin of the Sri Singhi era) in A.D. 1113, after Sidh Rāj's conquest. But the leader of the later Gohil expedition who founded the existing estates (Bhāonagar Lāthi, and Pālītāna) was Sejak, who was driven from an earlier settlement in Mārwar and came to seek his fortune from the favour of the Rā of Junāgarh, possibly knowing that some Gohils were already in the neighbourhood. The Rā was named Kawāt, and his son and heir had the common family name of Khangār, so that the names give no clue to the probable date, but it is stated to be 1260 A.D. These

* The Chudāsama are held to be a branch of the old Samā tribe of Yādavas in Sindh, whence they came to Surāshtra. The founder was named Chudachandra. The local Yādava have left an inscription on a block of black stone in the temple at Girmār (see Lassen, iii., 870). It is not dated, but contains the name of Dipā, Navaghana, Khangāra and other chiefs: (for the legends about the latter and how they were subdued by the Anhilpur King Sidh Rāj see *Rāsmāla*, p. 118).

† Lassen's suggestion was that the Rāthor, who figure chiefly in W. Rājputāna and at one time reigned at Kanauj, were descended from the Rāshtrakuta Kings of Gujarāt.

‡ The story was that Harpāl was told he might have as many villages (in his grant) as he could "bind garlands" to in one night. The allusion is to the practice of setting up a pole to which a garland was attached as sign of victory or lordship over the place. Harpāl had a bhūt,—a sort of Genius of the Ring, who bound garlands to the prodigious number of 1,100 villages!

Gohils* were granted Sāpur and eleven villages besides. Afterwards one of the chiefs allied himself with the Mers and married the daughter of a Mer chief, and so started a new clan. Mukhrājī,—the son of the marriage, became celebrated in bardic story, as lord of Goghā and the island fort of Pirambh. Ultimately the Moslems captured the fort and slew the founder. "When Mokhrājī Gohil began to strike, the Muhammadans thought of Allah. On the Asur's army his blows rained; half of Toghlak's soldiers did the son of Rān slay with the sword." At last, however, Mukhrājī fell at the gate of Goghā, and in spite of the miracle that his severed head continued to shout the war cry, and that his body went on brandishing his sword, the place was stormed.

One other instance of an acquired chiefship, though apparently not earlier than the 16th or beginning of the 17th century, must be mentioned. The tract called the Chūnwāl or "place of 44 villages," centred in Datroj. This, in fact, is only one example of several similar chiefships of mixed race, which in Gujarāt are called Thākardā, a sort of diminutive of Thākur (a subordinate chief). We have, in fact, several instances of a superior Rājput taking the lead of a clan of more humble—possibly aboriginal—rank: in that case the chief marries a daughter of the clan, and a half blood-race, often with a separate clan name, results.† In the case of the Chūnwāl estate, the bards declare that Kānji Rāt (or Rāwat) was the offspring of a Solankhī chieftain by a Koli mother. How the 44 villages were acquired does not appear. But Kānji is said to have attained such consequence that he was granted the use of the insignia of local royalty by the Moslem Sultan. The estate grew apace and several branches were formed. It will furnish us with some curious instances of the growth, partition, and changeful condition of estates. It is to this group that Katosan, to which particular reference will be made, belongs.

APPENDIX.

NOTE ON THE NAMES OF THE COUNTRY.

THE names Kāthiāwār and Gujarāt are modern. The first of them was applied to the whole of the peninsula (but not the inland portion, Ahmadābād, Baroda, etc.), by the Marāthās who found the Kāthī tribes, with their predatory habits and lightly-moving troops of horsemen, exceedingly troublesome to deal with. It does not appear otherwise, that the Kāthī (though numerous) had any political importance.

The common name Gujarāt or Guzarāt (which is often used to include both the peninsula and the inland districts) is more curious, for it etymologically refers to a race—the Gujar—who are not known in historic times to have formed an element in the local population.‡ But it is probable that a considerable number of them were still resident

* Two different origins are also stated for the Gohil or Guhilot clan. One makes them a branch for the Grahilot or Sisodya of Mewār and so connects them indirectly with Bupp or Bappa, the Bāla ancestor and supposed scion of the "Solar" race. The other (see Rāsmāla, p. 237), derives them from Sālivāhana, and says that they had driven the Bhils out of part of Marwār and settled in their stead.

† Kinloch Forbes makes a very apposite quotation comparing the case of the Highland (Celtic) clans of Scotland who often acquired Norman, Teutonic or Norwegian chiefs (Rāsmāla, p. 429).

‡ Gujars are not mentioned in the Ayīn-i-Akbarī as one of the castes or races in the provinces.

about the site of Anhilpur when the Moslem headquarters were first fixed there in the 13th and 14th centuries;* and this led some of the bards to speak of "Gujar-land" in their ballads, and also the earliest Moslem historians—perhaps as far back as the early 14th century and followed by later authors (Firishṭa, the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, etc.), to invent the name "Gujarāt."† The word is formed on the same principle as that which made Sorath, or in Persian form Sūrāt, out of Saurāshtra. As the Gujars could not have advanced so far till (at earliest) in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.,‡ there is, of course, no classical (or late) Sanskrit word Gujarāshtra or Gurjarāshtra in actual occurrence, but it might be easily invented on the analogy stated. The name for the country dominated by the Gujar King (to whatever limits it may have extended) as found in inscriptions from 5th-9th centuries and also in the *Pañchatantra* (a work perhaps not earlier than the inscriptions)§ is "Gurjara." It never included (geographically speaking) Saurāshtra or Sorath. In fact, Gurjara really meant some neighbouring country inland, the Kings of which at one time or another were able to exercise authority over (modern) Gujarāt. And Hwen Tsang who visited Balabhipur (and Gujarāt generally) about 640 A.D., tells us that Gurjara was a country whose capital was Bālāmīra (Lassen suggested *Vīrāmālā*); and this Cunningham has satisfactorily identified with Bālmīr in W. Rājūtāna (Mallānī division of the Mārṇwār (Jodhpur) State).||

Coming now to the older and indigenous names, the N.W. corner between the Greater and Lesser "Runn" (S. Irīna=saltmarsh) was very early called Kachchhā (Cutch). The next or seagirt portion of that peninsula is Surāshtra, a name found in Sanskrit literature.¶ This became "Surastrēnē" in the pages of Ptolemy and the early geographers, and Sorath in the spoken dialect. The tongue-like portion of the peninsula at the western extremity was early called Udakamandala (Okhāmandal) because of its "watery" surrounding. It is sometimes stated that the peninsula (as a whole) was anciently called Ānarta—the land of Ānirt. But one of the Gīrnār rock inscriptions (= A.D. 150) mentions both Ānarta and Surāshtra together. The Capital of Ānarta was Kusasthalipur afterwards replaced by Dwārka.** The inland and most fertile part of the country (perhaps

* The earlier Arabian travellers called the country "Juzar," which (as Cunningham has suggested) is much more likely than the reading "Haraz,"—the difference being merely in the placing of two diacritical points.

† Gujarāt and Guzarāt might be written indifferently. Rashīd-u-d-dīn (Mujmilu-t-tawārīkh, A.D. 1310), first used the word (see Cunningham, "Anc. Geo.," 320). It is not used by Aburīhān (Al-bīrūnī), though he mentions both Anhilwāra and Somnāth.

‡ That is assuming the generally-accepted view that the Gujar princes were derived from the Korān or Kushān Yuchi (Tochari). As they only followed the Saka from the western frontier districts in the last century B.C., it can hardly be supposed that they came at once to Western Rājputāna: for their chief home is in the Northern-Central Panjāb (Gurānwālā, Gujrat, etc.), extending as far eastward as Rohilkhand. In modern times they formed a considerable element numerically, in the rural population, both of the Panjāb and further east and south. It must have been some time later that they extended to West Rājputāna and dominated the country as far as the mouth of the Narbada, where we find copper-plate grants of a Gujar prince dated in the 5th cent. A.D.

§ The *Pañchatantra* was translated into Pali in the 6th cent. A.D. as Prof. Macdonell kindly informed me.

|| The two earliest copper plate grants of local Gurjara Kings are dated *Saka* 380 and 385 (=A.D. 458, 463) (see "Anc. Geog.," p. 322). These show that at that time the Kings had authority as far as Anklesar opposite Bharoch near the mouth of the Narbada. In other plates as late as the 9th century mention is still made of "Kings of Gurjara"; though we have the evidence of another inscription that their territory at Bharoch was lost soon after the grant above alluded to. A small Gujar State (Sāmther—N.E. of Gwalīar beyond the Chambal R) still survives. It is curious to observe (see Rāsmāla, 73) that the bard Chand describing one of the many Hindu revolts against the early Moslem governors, speaks of "the great Gujar" as helping the chiefs.

¶ Surāshtra or Saurāshtra (people of the former) are mentioned in the Epics and other classical works. The term "Saurāshtraka" is quoted by Lassen from the *Ramāyana* ("Ind. Alth., i., 138 note)—meaning the inhabitants of the peninsula. There is a classical (and Vedic) word "surāshtra," as an adjective, meaning "having a fair realm." It would be very natural in later works to remember this use in writing the name of the country: but I believe it was really called "Saurā land" after the ancient sun-worshipping tribe of Saurā or Chāvāra (mod. Chāvda) who inhabited it, as the later derivative "Sorath" seems to show.

** Kusasthalipura appears in the Epics and Purānas in connection with the legend of Krishna and his family in Gujarāt. Bālarāma (K.'s brother) is married to Revati,

as far south as Bharoch and Surāt) was apparently once called Lātha or Lāra: and Hwen Thsang calls the country of Balabhipur "the northern Lāra." Ptolemy calls the whole country from the west coast up to Ujjain "Larikā." In the Baroda inscription (of A.D. 812) one of the Kings is given the title of "King of Lāteswar" (*sic*).

The beauty and wealth of Gujarāt are extolled by all classes of writers. In one place the *Ratnāmālā** (early 14th century) says "Gujarland is the fairest portion of the earth: a land full of fertility, splendid with water, grass and trees: where money is plentiful and men are generous." "If all the excellencies," writes the author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*,† "of this province were to be described, a distinct volume would be required. Its praises and its superiority over other countries have frequently been repeated by the tongues of travellers and wanderers over the earth." "What a country is Sorath!" exclaims the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, "as if the hand of heaven had selected the cream and essence of Mālwa, Khāndes, and Gujarāt and had made a compendium of all the (good people) of the world, and had picked out the noblest and most vigorous from these countries named and collected them together into one standard, as a touchstone of the countries of the world. Its ports excel all other ports. Of every kind of grain and fruit which those three countries produce in special excellence . . . there is not one which is not obtainable in Sorath."

Sikandar Babhol Lodi, King of Delhi used to say "that the support of the throne of Delhi is wheat and *jowār* (great millet), but that the foundation of the realm of Gujarāt is coral and pearls, for there are eighty-four ports under the throne of Gujarāt."‡

A more modern estimate may also be referred to. "Nearly the whole of the south-west portion of Gujarāt," writes K. Forbes, "a tract of country nearly 60 miles deep, extending from the Runn of Cutch to the banks of the Narbada along the frontier of the peninsula and the Northern and Eastern shores of the Gulf of Cambay is an open alluvial plain; much of this is a fertile tract; and especially that part of it which lies between the Sābarmati and the Mahī rivers is covered with noble groves of trees. . . . It may vie, says the historian of the Mahrattas, for hundreds of miles with the finest parks of the nobles of England."

To state briefly the existing divisions of the country will perhaps be convenient.

The farthest (N.W.) peninsula of Kachchh is an independent native State under a Rāv, with some vassal chiefs. Next comes the Political Agency of Kāthiāwār.|| This is divided into no less than 187 petty States—most of them paying tribute to the British Power or to the Baroda State. Many are the much divided representatives of the old Rājput Clan Estates, though a Moslem overlord replaced the older Rāvs of Junāgarh; and several Jhareja chiefs have established themselves by later adventures. To the North and N.E. of Kāthiāwār are the States forming the Pahanpur Agency.

The inland plain country is partly occupied by the Baroda State (of Marāthā origin: it has several outlying portions also), and by the British districts of Ahmadābād Kairā (Khedā) and the Pānch Mahāl. Around Ahmadābād lay the tract which was always the special demesne of the later Hindu sovereigns and of the Moslem Sultans. There (A.D. 1410-1417) Ahmad Shah founded the once magnificent capital of Ahmadābād. South of these districts lie Bharoch (Broach) near the mouth of the Narbada, and Surāt along the West Coast.

Returning to the N.E. and E., we find as we approach the head waters of the Sābarmati and Mahi rivers, that the country becomes hilly and more difficult; in former

daughter of the King, who is a direct descendant of Anirt. Anirt is sometimes called a descendant of Anu; but the *Bhagavat Purāna* makes him a brother of Ikshwāka (the Solar Ancestor) and the name Kusasthali certainly suggests Kusā the descendant of Ikshwāka rather than a relative of Anu. If that is so there is another point of connection between the western Aryans, and the Solar tribe of Ayodhya in the East. I have elsewhere alluded to the question as to whether the Kausthalapur of the Allahabad Lāt (*circa* 380 A.D.), is really this place: if it is, the name Dwārka (which the late Pandit B. Indrajī calls the "modern" name) cannot have been applied before A.D. 400, and probably not till long after that.

* Quoted from the *Rāsmāla*, p. 20.

† Bayley, 20, 386.

‡ Bayley, 5.

§ *Rāsmāla*, p. 3.

|| The local dialects usually substitute *v* for *w* and *d* for *r*. So the Kāthiāwād, Jhadeja, etc., are also written, and Chāwara becomes Chāvda.

days much of it must have been covered with dense jungle: but among the hills are many fertile valleys. In these hills was the natural home of the Bhil and Koli tribes and some other little-known clans such as the Sord. Here too were the hill fortresses which were the capitals and refuge places of turbulent chiefs, famous in story—Pahlanpur, and Dantā, Īdar, Lunāwara, Chitūr and many others. The bards have never-ending tales and ballads of these romantic places, many of them glorifying their long and stout resistance to the Moslem arms. Great were the Moslem rejoicings when Īdar was at last captured and the territory incorporated in the Ahmadābād demesne, or when the Champāner Fort (farther south) fell before the arms of Mahmud “Bigarha” (=“of the two forts”) as he was called for his victory at this place and also at Junāgarh on the other side of the peninsula (1470-72 A.D.). Most of the territory is now semi-independent under the charge of the Political Agencies of Pahlanpur and Mahikānthā.

South East again, of the British districts, in the hilly country of the Narbada valley near the coast, is the Agency of Rewākānthā with many Bhil inhabitants and the native state of Rāj-pipta and others.

The present distribution of territory resulted from the treaties (after the last Marāthā Wars) 1803-1818, with some subsequent agreements as to minor readjustments of boundaries and exchanges of detached portions of territory. These left the Baroda State in possession of the Gaikwād, but secured to British rule the old “demesne” districts. The many chiefs of Kathiāwār, and of the hill country on the N. and E. of Gujarāt were placed under the advice and control of the Political Agencies alluded to, but were not formally annexed to British Indian territory. Certainly no part of India needed more the firm and impartial hand of Government to enforce peace and respect for the rights of neighbours and subject cultivators. Hitherto neither Moslem nor Marāthā governors had been able to maintain anything like permanent order or any continuous control over the country—covered as it was by numerous petty domains of chiefs as proud as they were illiterate; for ever at war one with another, and for ever trying to levy blackmail, or to increase their own possessions at the expense of anyone less able to hold his own.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF SIR SYAD AHMAD.

[Born 1817—Died 1898.]

BY J. KENNEDY, B.C.S., RET.

SIR SYAD AHMAD died at Aligarh on March 27, 1898, and there died with him, according to the *Pioneer*, "the most salutary and fruitful political force that has moved the Mahomedan world of India during the last quarter of a century." The future of the Anglo-Mahomedan Oriental College, his principal achievement, is an anxious question to the Mahomedans of Northern India; but although others will carry on his work, no one can succeed to his striking personality. I had the honour to know him well, and I propose to record my impressions of his work and of himself.

Aligarh, the residence of the Syad during the last 30 years of his life, is a quiet country town, situated half-way between Agra and Delhi, and now chiefly famous as a seat of learning. But a century ago it was a place of considerable military importance. It swarmed with De Boigne's Mahratta soldiery, it resounded with the noise of arsenals, and French engineers built a famous fort in the marshes to the north of the town. Lord Lake stormed the fort and scattered the Mahratta army, and Aligarh became once more peaceful and provincial. In the course of time the marshes were drained and turned into a sad-looking *oosur* plain traversed by ditches and white with saline efflorescence. On the verge of this *oosur* plain, and surrounded on three sides by the gardens and avenues of the Civil Station, there now stands the Anglo-Mahomedan Oriental College, a vast but unfinished quadrangle, commenced in 1875, with Moorish gateways, halls, and colonnades. Two buildings in the centre, the College hall, and the College Mosque, tower high above the others, and in the mosque is buried the founder of the College, Sir Syad Ahmad, historian, theologian, orator and statesman. And the architecture reflects the mind of the founder; it is large, simple, and severe.

I first saw the Syad Sahib, as he was usually called, in the spring of 1887. I looked forward to the meeting with interest, for I had heard much of him for 20 years, partly from his disciples and still more from his opponents, chiefly old men who were his seniors or contemporaries and did not like his new-fangled ways. In his earlier years he had given much offence by his theological novelties. Many regarded him as a heretic, and it was even said that the doctors of Mekka had declared his assassination to be permissible. But when I knew him, he had partly outlived his opponents, partly lived them down. His attachment and his services to the cause of the Mahomedans were conspicuous; he had been adopted as their leader, and if his theological opinions were doubtful or suspicious, men preserved silence, and shrank from calling them unorthodox.

In 1887 Sir Syad Ahmad occupied an Anglo-Indian bungalow close to the College, and I was shown into the central room, spacious and dark, and furnished after the European fashion. Presently the Syad entered clad in an Eastern dress, an elderly man of robust build and medium height, but somewhat bowed with study and age. His head was massive, his face pale, his hair and beard were white, and he spoke in a voice singularly sweet and distinct. At first sight the most striking characteristics of the man were dignity and courtesy. During the years that followed, I had much to do with him, and saw him frequently in many capacities, on occasions of State, when he addressed assemblies, entertained Viceroy and Lt.-Governors, or presided at college festivals; and also in private life at his table or in his study. And on all occasions the man remained the same, wise, moderate, straightforward, fearless, and firm. But I think I liked him best when he was alone. I would sometimes come across him engaged on his usual morning occupations at the College, leaning on his staff like a Homeric *basileus* while he superintended the masons at their brick-work, for he was to a great extent both architect and builder of his College. Or I would find him poring over his books in his study. One evening more especially presents itself to my memory, when I had occasion to visit the Syad after dark. He sat in *deshabille* before the lamp-lit table in a small anteroom which served him for a study: the door was open and looked out upon the garden and the night, while an attendant wrapped in white slept in the shadow of the verandah; within a flood of light fell on the massive head and snowy beard of the student bending over a great volume of Arabian metaphysics. And as he put down his pen, he told me that with the sunset he loved to put away the cares of the world and to commune with the great minds which had lived centuries before. He was at the time writing a commentary upon an Arabian philosopher.

Sir Syad Ahmad was born in 1817, the younger son of a noble family in decay. His ancestors had held high official appointments for many generations, and had supplied governors and judges to the service of the Great Moghul. But they belonged to the official, not the territorial aristocracy, and their fortunes became small when the empire of the Moghuls had dwindled to the fortress-palace of Delhi. Amid the tawdry splendour and riff-raff, the intriguers and adventurers of the Palace, a little group of courtiers still clung to the fallen Emperor; they retained old traditions of state-craft, and the "grand manner" of a former time was not utterly forgotten. The men, though fallen on evil days, were dignified, the women cultured and refined. The fathers taught their daughters, the sons obeyed their mothers. In this esoteric circle of the learning and traditions of Delhi Syad Ahmad passed his youth, owing much to his mother, and something to the family friends; and from these early associations he acquired not only his admirable Hindustani, but much also of the simple dignity and antique courtesy of his maturer years.

Sir Syad Ahmad was proud of his birth; he dwelt upon it with satisfaction in his earliest works, and he talked of it to the end of his days. He always maintained that good birth was a necessary qualification of natives

appointed to high office. "We know nothing of the family history of our English rulers," he once remarked to an Englishman who was boasting of his noble relatives. "As long as an Englishman is a *hakim*, it is immaterial to us whether he be the son of a peasant or a peer; but we do know each other's history, and we do not like to be ruled by our inferiors."

Sir Syad Ahmad's antecedents and scanty fortune naturally led him when grown up to look for employment under the Government. He entered the Judicial Service as Munsif when he was barely 21; served in it for 30 years, and retired when he was Subordinate Judge of Aligarh—a position somewhat similar to the Judgeship of a County Court in England. During the Mutiny of 1857 he rendered signal service by saving the lives of a party of fugitive Englishmen and women in Bijnor; and he was for a time a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council.

But Sir Syad Ahmad did not owe his fame to his official career; he became famous as a writer and political leader. He was master of an eminently simple and vigorous style, free from the usual disfigurements of pedantry and Arabic, and he abounded in striking illustrations and pithy sayings. He was a great orator, and could work up native audiences to the wildest enthusiasm. I have heard that on one occasion the Mahomedans of Hyderabad rose from their seats, and dandled their swords, shouting, before him. In his earlier years he chiefly devoted himself to academic pursuits—to history and theology. He had a passion for investigating the early Mahomedan history both of India and Arabia. In order to copy the inscriptions at the Kutb he had himself suspended in a basket from the dizzy parapets; and he was the first to establish the true date of the conquest of Delhi by Kutb-ud-din, and other important points of archæology. The Mutiny of 1857 turned Syad Ahmad into a statesman; and from that time forward, although his former pursuits were not forgotten, he devoted his main energies to establish a rapprochement between the Mahomedans and the English.

The Syad was first and before all things a Mahomedan; and during the first half of the century the Mahomedans had been a decadent race. Nadir Shah had commenced, the Afghans and Mahrattas had completed the ruin of the Empire. Disunion, lawlessness, and anarchy everywhere prevailed when the English took possession of the country. The Mahomedans of Northern India, isolated and exhausted, sank into apathetic torpor, and passed their time on their estates or in little country towns, with diminishing fortunes, less ambition, and little learning. From the past they had inherited great memories; everything in the present was abhorrent. Syad Ahmad grieved over this state of things, and set himself to redress it. Nature had endowed him with a large and tolerant spirit; his intellect was broad; and he held his beliefs with passionate conviction. He perceived that with the advent of the English a new era had commenced, and the possibility of better things. Arabian rulers and philosophers in former days had appropriated much of the Western learning; and Mahomedans of the present day might do again what their ancestors had done. There was much to be admired in the modern civilization of the West: much that might be appropriated not only without injury, but with great advantage.

Therefore the Syad devoted his life to discovering a *via media*, a common ground for the two races and the two civilizations. Others had emphasized the points of difference; he would show how much there was in common. The Syad had applied these ideas to the department of theology before he attempted to give them shape in politics; and he told me himself that it was for these reasons he had in the first instance applied himself to the study of the Old and New Testaments. A devout Mahomedan, he implicitly accepted the Koran and scrupulously observed its precepts. He would not sanction a lottery even for objects which he approved, and no wine was ever seen at the College entertainments. To the observance of the Koran he added those traditions which his sense of natural religion or his historical conscience allowed him to accept. But upon these foundations and beyond these limits, he allowed his reason full play, and he dwelt much on ground common to all the peoples of "the Book." And thus it came to pass that his elders and contemporaries looked for a long time doubtfully upon him as a dangerous rationalist, specious but shocking to the respectable and inert orthodoxy of that generation.

Ignorance he said was the bane of theology; it was the vice also of the British polity in India. The people were ignorant and distrustful of their rulers; the rulers were ignorant of the wishes and grievances of the people. This had been strikingly proved by the Mutiny, and the Syad set himself to bring about a rapprochement between the governors and the governed. He urged his countrymen to trust their rulers, and the English to understand their subjects, and admit them to a share in the Government. The Mahomedans more especially were bound by their own interests to enter into this alliance, for they had the same imperial instincts, they, too, were followers of "the Book" and of a kindred religion, and it was only by a frank acceptance of this alliance that they could hold their own against the flowing tide of Hindu expansion.

The A.M.O. College at Aligarh embodies the final aims of the Syad. It was modelled to a large extent on the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge; and from the commencement it was intended to be different from all other Indian colleges, and to develop under favourable circumstances into an Anglo-Mahomedan University. The students were to live in the college under the eyes of their teachers, and English professors were to be the companions of the undergraduates, sharing their table, their studies and their games. The idea was novel and bold, for the Syad's orthodoxy did not always pass unquestioned in 1875, and the idea of eating with infidels was at least startling. But the Syad had two excellent supporters in the British Government and the Government of Hyderabad. Sir J. Strachey then Lt.-Governor of the N.W.P. was his fast friend, and a small group of the Syad's personal disciples, several of them extremely able men, had risen to high office in Hyderabad. Sir Syad Ahmad travelled far and wide to collect funds for his College, but its main endowments came from these two sources.

And so the money was obtained, and the College was founded, but where could the Syad secure a suitable staff? His personal influence was sufficient to attract a competent staff of natives: but the English Professors

were essential to the scheme, and where could suitable ones be found? In this too the Syad was successful. After many difficulties and some years, he obtained a Principal according to his own heart. Mr. T. Beck, the new Principal, was young, ardent, sympathetic, and eager to learn; entering fully into the Syad's views, and often better able to give them effect; no whit inferior to his chief in single-minded and self-denying devotion. The relations of the two men soon resembled those of a father and a son. The new Principal had many difficulties to contend with: the Syad was a bad man of business, the governing committee perpetually interfered with the discipline, and the internal condition of the College was, as I have heard, chaotic. Gradually Mr. Beck gathered a staff of able and sympathetic young Englishmen around him, established discipline, reformed the commissariat, and obliged the students to attend the daily prayers, although the lads mobbed the elderly munshi who first tried to enforce the order. Mr. Beck also became the chief exponent of the Syad's ideas to the English, and his chief assistant in awakening their sympathy for the undertaking. If the conception and foundation of the College are the Syad's own, its subsequent success is mainly due after the Syad to Mr. Beck.

It was almost by accident, the Syad told me, that he had pitched on Aligarh for his University town of the future. But the choice turned out to be a happy one. At the great centres, Agra and Delhi, the College would have been only one of many interests, while at Aligarh it stands pre-eminent. And Aligarh is especially fortunate in its native gentry. They are numerous and influential, and largely Mahomedan. Mahomedan families of wealth and position have lived there for centuries. And the younger members of these families were liberal and enlightened; they were personally attached to the Syad, and adopted his ideas with enthusiasm. Native gentlemen and English officials began to meet on equal terms in private life, to play lawn tennis and billiards together, and to dine at each other's houses. State banquets were held at the College, or the Aligarh Institute; and I have seldom seen a merrier party or enjoyed dinners more than at some of the private entertainments. Englishmen and Mahomedans sat down together at table. There was an unceasing flow of conversation, of speeches, toasts, and jokes; a bewildering medley of English and Hindustani, and our language was as varied as our costumes. Sometimes there would be a fiasco. The Collector of the District invited a large party of Mahomedans on the occasion of the darbar which was held to invest Sir Syad Ahmad with the K.C.S.I., and unfortunately it turned out to be the commencement of the Ramazan. And the use of the knife and fork was a trial to many elderly native gentlemen. A valued friend of mine nearly amputated his finger in making a desperate plunge at his mutton. But the movement was popular, and it extended to the Hindoos. Sir Syad Ahmad started private theatricals for the benefit of the College: he wrote a kind of Morality play, and acted a part in it himself. The Hindoos were not to be left behind. We had a semi-public concert at which English ladies played the violin, and a Hindoo Rajah the guitar, honorary magistrates sang, and the leading pleader gave a musical recital.

The political benefit of this free social intercourse was immense. It was

a liberal education for Europeans and natives alike ; it destroyed prejudices, removed suspicions, and engendered an air of frankness and unreserve which enabled the head of the District to remedy many a grievance and settle many incipient disputes. And loyalty came into fashion. It was everywhere felt that the future of the Mahomedans depended upon their alliance with the English. Nor were the Hindoos one whit less loyal. I have met in other districts with individuals as trustworthy and able, but I never met in the N.W.P. a body of men superior as a whole to the gentry of the Aligarh District ; or gentlemen more tolerant and liberal than my friends Rajah Ghansham Singh, the premier noble of the Division, Nawabs Koar Lutf Ali Khan, Fayaz Ali Khan, and the late Hadyar Khan, whom not only I but every officer valued. In fine the District had become the most enlightened and most loyal in the Province.

And all this was the work of a single man, a man who read English with difficulty and knew English literature only at second-hand. The leading gentlemen of Aligarh were equally unacquainted with it. And the same remark holds good of most of the Syad's friends and followers. They were men of ability, acquainted with the world and with affairs, and obliged to be statesmen in virtue of their position, but few or none had acquired an English education. And this perhaps explains the fact that they were able to form a party so truly progressive while in the best sense conservative.

The Syad's popularity reached its climax when he led the Mahomedan opposition to the Congress agitation. Some of the aims proposed by the Congress—the admission, for instance, of natives to a greater share in the government—had been pursued by him for years before the Congress was born. But there can be no doubt that the Congress movement was entirely abhorrent to his nature. He clearly foresaw and forcibly impressed upon his countrymen the evils which a democratic programme must inflict upon the Mahomedans, of necessity in a permanent minority. For that matter, the Hindoo friends of the Congress at Aligarh were speedily cured of their love for it by the candidature of a Chumar for a place on the Town Council. But the Syad was essentially a Conservative, he represented the Mahomedan tradition of centuries, he had devoted his life to developing it in accordance with the conditions of English rule and modern knowledge ; and a bastard and unthinking imitation of Western democracy was utterly repugnant to him. At the same time he was always reluctant to stir up strife or increase the rivalry between Hindoos and Mahomedans ; he had many Hindoo friends, and freely employed Hindoos in the College. For Hinduism as a religion he had little regard. "Hinduism, what is Hinduism?" he once said to me. "Hinduism consists in a cooking-pot." He had certainly never paid it serious attention.

If I were to sum up the Syad's character in a few words, I should say that while his toleration was extended to all men (except possibly to Shias,) he held his own beliefs with passionate conviction, and devoted all his energies to raising the Mahomedans. But in all that he did, he was an autocrat. It best suited the Oriental mind, he said. "When he was young" he often remarked, "Every ruler was absolute from the Governor to the Chowdrie." He regarded with dislike our interminable system of appeals :

he dreaded the weakening of the District Officer's power, and the perpetual interposition of the heads of Government.

And what the Syad preached he practised ; he was virtually absolute in his own College. And although he ruled beneficently and wisely and with much consideration, he was an imperious autocrat, and brooked neither interference nor opposition. Indeed, although he was a very bad man of business, he would admit of no assistance. And in his old age he became irascible. More than once I have attempted to patch up disputes, in which the Syad was not wholly in the right. The younger men he readily forgave, but he became estranged from many of his old friends whose good opinion he at one time valued highly.

When a Pope dies, it is generally reported that the conclave of Cardinals becomes the hotbed of intrigues, alliances, and cabals. The death of the Syad is like the death of a Pope. Numerous rivals are said to be competing for the post : no one has yet been able to secure the adherence of all the rest. Meantime the Trustees have placed the keys of the College Treasury in the hands of Mr. Beck : a band of students mounts guard over the papers ; and all business is supposed to be practically suspended until the interregnum be past. The College had been weakened by the loss of one of its most learned and most sympathetic English Professors shortly before the Syad's death ; and at the same time it is embarked on an effort to raise £100,000 for the foundation of an Anglo-Mahomedan University. Much of the rivalry between the claimants for the Syad's post is personal, and we cannot hesitate to believe that personal claims will be subordinated to public interests, when the circumstances are so critical. But certain of the claimants are said to represent a new departure and a different policy. Should any reactionary party gain the upper hand, or anything occur to sever Mr. Beck's connection, the result will probably be fatal to the College. It will sink to the level of an undistinguished High School. We hope for a better fate and better things. The Aligarh College will yet bring forth fruits of tolerance and of learning worthy of its origin, an ever-green memorial to the greatness of its founder.

BURMA'S SUPPOSED "TRIBUTE" TO CHINA.

By E. H. PARKER.

THE history of Burma's relations with China anterior to the accession of the now reigning Manchu dynasty has not yet been given to the public in convincing and lucid form. The matter is, however, available, and some day it will doubtless be sifted and put together. But that is foreign to the present specific purpose, which is to examine the validity of modern Chinese claims to suzerainty over Burma. Roundly speaking, it may be said that for all contemporary political purposes the question is narrowed down to the relations between the Manchu-Tartar dynasty, which has been ruling in China since 1644, and the Mozzobò dynasty founded by Alompra about 150 years ago.

The Manchus obtained the Chinese throne largely through the instrumentality of a Chinese general named Wu San-kwei, who found it necessary to invoke their military aid against rebels. The Chinese Emperor committed suicide, and the Manchus took the opportunity to settle themselves as his successors at Peking. For the first few decades of their imperial career, the Manchus scarcely ventured to incorporate as "regulation" provinces that half of China which lies south of the River Yangtze: they preferred to parcel it out between the three Chinese generals who had first transferred their allegiance during the wars which ultimately led to conquest. These three generals, accordingly, ruled as semi-independent satraps at Foochow, Canton, and Yün-nan Fu. We are now only concerned with the last named.

But the princes of the Chinese dynasty who saw themselves deftly displaced by their hereditary enemies the Manchus, thus rashly invited within the Great Wall as allies, were not yet by any means extinguished. Several pretenders gave trouble in various parts of South China. Amongst these was Chu Yu-lang, Prince of Kwei, who adopted in the south-west the reign style of Yung-lih, and had to be forcibly driven out of Yün-nan Fu in 1659 before Wu San-kwei could gain full possession of his new satrapy. The Chinese pretender had at last to take refuge in Burma, where it appears he and his adherents were hospitably allotted quarters at Sagaing, opposite the then capital of Ava. Wu San-kwei represented to the Emperor that there could be no peace for China so long as this pretender was allowed to make Burma a base for future operations. The Emperor approved this view, and placed all the Manchu troops then engaged in the satrapy absolutely under Wu San-kwei's orders. Meanwhile the semi-independent Shan ruler of Keng-hung gave in his adhesion to the Manchu-Chinese empire, which action enabled an imperialist column sent by way of the Tea Hills the more easily to defeat one of the pretender's generals who had fled thither. The main army, under the Manchu general Aisinga, having first assembled at Theinni, set out from that Shan capital in December, 1661, marching along the Thibaw main road, and reaching

the outskirts of Ava early in January, 1662, in order to enforce their demand for the refugees.

The pretender and his generals seem to have been very troublesome to the Burmese during their short stay near the capital, not to mention the intrigues carried on with all the Shan states of the Mékong. Moreover there were several precedents in Burmo-Chinese political history for handing over refugees on both sides. But the true reason why the Burmese king complied with the Manchu general's demand probably was that he did not possess sufficient means to resist it; for his predecessor and elder brother had already proved incompetent to restrain even the pretender's excesses, and it was apparently largely for this reason that he lost his throne to his usurping younger brother.

The surrendered pretender and his family were taken by the retiring Manchus to Yün nan Fu, where they soon perished or were killed off. About ten thousand captives (a large half of whom were women and children) were brought back to China. It is not stated exactly how many troops were employed: it was scarcely a "war": probably not more than a few thousand Manchus on the Chinese side marched into Burma to do the real fighting; and perhaps there were as many Chinese for skirmishing, convoy, and garrison duty. The Burmese do not appear, indeed, to have had any armies in the field, and manifestly acted purely on the defensive. There was no question of conquest: it was simply a rapid raid made by seasoned troops for a specific purpose. Operations were undertaken just at the right moment by a satrap having local experience, and within forty days of their leaving Theinni for Ava all the Chinese armies were well within the frontier again. As the Emperor remarked in 1782: "Though Wu San-kwei did well, it is clear from his subsequent rebellion that he was working entirely with a view to his own future aggrandisement; it was not the interest of the Manchus he had at heart."

Shortly after this, the whole available strength of the Manchus was for some years employed in crushing the successive revolts of Wu San-kwei and his fellow satraps. Then there were long and exhausting wars in the north with the Kalmucks and Tibetans, ultimately followed by the conquest of Turkestan. During nearly a whole century of desert warfare there were no political events of great importance to China in Corea, Loochoo, Annam, Siam, Laos, Sulu, or, in short, in the territories of any of her neighbours having a seacoast of their own. As to Burma, her name is scarcely even so much as mentioned for a hundred years.

We see, therefore, that the matter of the above introductory sketch had already been for many generations ancient history when the modern chapter of Chinese relations with Burma recommenced 140 years ago. The Alompra dynasty, which conquered its own position quite independently of China, had not yet been heard of. The Manchus, who so recently as ten years ago ventured to assert certain "rights" against Great Britain, had never up to 1750 had the least concern with Burma, except through a satrap who subsequently required to be reconquered himself. And even that satrap never asserted any suzerainty over Burma, into which country he only marched a flying column in order to secure the person of a Chinese

pretender. Finally, even supposing that satrap had asserted "rights," those rights were never re-asserted after the satrap had been conquered, and silence reigned for a hundred years.

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It is probably known to comparatively few outside the sphere of action of the India Office that an excellent account of the relations between Burma and China (subsequent to the events narrated above) has already been published in English. It was contributed by Lieut.-Col. H. Burney Resident in Ava, to the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1837, vol. vi., Parts 1 and 2. He took it from the Burmese Chronicles down to 1823, after which date he seems to have supplemented it by inquiry made on the spot. Burmese Chronicles are apt to be somewhat bombastic, and much of early Burmese history, like much of early Japanese history, can only be believed in so far as it is supported by the matter-of-fact Chinese chronicles. Hence many of those who would implicitly confide in Colonel Burney himself might be inclined to look with suspicion upon his version of the Burmese narrative. But, if we set aside a few manifest numerical exaggerations, caused as much by Chinese bluff as by Burmese credulity, and quietly ignore mere bombast, we may satisfy ourselves from irrefutable Chinese history that Colonel Burney's account, so far as it goes, is essentially correct, from first to last, and is confirmed up to 1789 by the *Manchu Annals*. As to Chinese history, from the point of view of good faith it may always be accepted as true, subject of course to allowances for the fraud of subordinates, and for reasonable human error. Chinese history is as full of bombast as Burmese; but the Chinese admit or explain their bombast, and criticise their own lies, errors, cowardice, and dishonesty with perfect frankness. If they had ever dreamt that a cheap European press would multiply by thousands copies of imperial pronouncements which then existed only in official circles by tens, they might have done otherwise. But, for better or for worse, they have writ large what the facts in the Emperor's opinion really were.

Between the years 1720 and 1746 the attention of the Chinese Emperor was seriously directed to the rivers Mékong and Salween, and various steps were taken to secure both a military and a mercantile footing in the region of P'u-êrh and Keng-hung. I have described these successive steps in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1897, and January, 1898. Burma is only incidentally mentioned in connection with Zimmé, which latter state had unsuccessfully endeavoured to enlist Chinese aid against Burma. The Taungu dynasty then ruling at Ava was rapidly declining in power, and some of the ruling house were so grateful for China's benevolent neutrality in the Zimmé trouble, that they announced their intention of becoming Chinese vassals; but, as the Chinese repeatedly record, "they never did so." Zimmé's negotiations were carried on at P'u-êrh, and Burma had her spies at Keng-hung. The "wild Wa" prince Hulu, in whose territory certain Chinese adventurers had for a century past been working gold and silver mines, offered to pay an annual sum to China, as his northern neighbour the chief of Muang-lem had done. It was admitted his district lay beyond Chinese limits, and the Emperor did not

quite like this mining intrigue. Precisely what subsequently happened is not quite clear; one thing is certain, the leading Chinese speculator was imprisoned a few years later, his property was confiscated, and the Chinese mining industry beyond the frontier broke up. But the chief point about the whole business is the following: In 1750 the Governor of Yün-nan reported that Burma had for the first time sent a tribute letter as vassal. During the following summer the Emperor receives the envoys according to the forms used with Laos and Sulu envoys, and himself states: "They have never sent tribute since 1567; but, when our dynasty was establishing itself, they showed their devotion by delivering up the pretender." This is the only mention of Burmese tribute in the official *Manchu Annals* up to the date of Alompra's conquest in 1753. True, a work called the *Wars of Our Emperors* states that in 1753 the above-mentioned Chinese speculator "persuaded the Burmese to send tribute, and the Burmese chief Maha Tsu despatched envoys with tame elephants and a golden pagoda to Peking"; but (apart from the fact that the *Manchu Annals* make no mention of any such embassy, whilst on the other hand they do make mention in 1754 of the Talaings having driven King Mengdarâ from his throne) the *Wars of Our Emperors* immediately goes on to state: "but shortly afterwards the speculator was put to death in gaol by the Yün-nan authorities;" whilst in 1755 the Emperor himself states in the *Manchu Annals* that the said speculator's goods were confiscated. The explanation of this knotty moot point is partly to be found in the last edition of the Chinese *Annals of Momein*, published by authority in 1888. That work states that in 1750 "King Mengdarâ sent tame elephants and a golden pagoda, and his envoys were entertained according to the forms used with other tributary states." Here, then, we have proof almost positive that the mission stated by the *Manchu Annals* to have been sent in 1750 and received in 1751 was the Mengdarâ mission also stated by the *Momein Annals* to have been sent in 1750; and that the elephants and pagoda of the latter were the elephants and pagoda of 1753 according to the *Wars of Our Emperors*: further that the King Mengdarâ of the *Manchu Annals* reported in 1754 to have been dethroned by the Talaings is the King Mengdarâ who sent a mission in 1750. This Mengdarâ, or Mahâ Tsu, can be no other person than Mahâ Dhamma Râjâ Dibati, the last of the Taungu dynasty (1733-1751). The discrepancy in names is a difficulty, but the kings of Burma had so many names (Mengdarâ being a favourite one), and the histories of Burma are so defective, that this obstacle must not be overestimated. It is just possible that the ex-monk Mengdarâ Buddha Kâthi, who was elected King in 1740, after the breaking out of the Talaing rebellion, may be meant; but Colonel Phayre says that he abdicated in 1746, and that one of his officers named Binya Dâlâ succeeded him. The *Momein Annals*, *à propos* of quite another matter, casually states that "King Tala of Burma was killed by the Talaings; his son fled the country, and Alompra drove out the Min family, took Ava, and defeated the Talaings." *Min* may possibly stand for Binya, and the son is called by a name which (by the analogies of 1788-89) is evidently intended for some such a Burmese appellation as Sittaung Shwe-daung.

By these indications Burmese scholars may be able to decide which of the three ephemeral kings in question really sent envoys to Peking; for it is quite evident there was only one mission, and that it was the first ever received by the Manchus: it is also absolutely certain that the conqueror Alompra was not the king who sent it.

Light is thrown upon the subject by Colonel Phayre, who says: "The King of Burma had sent envoys to the Emperor of China . . . asking for his support" (against the Talaings). . . . "Two Chinese and Manchu officers arrived with an escort . . . and suggested . . . an attack . . . on the Talaing stockade at Madarâ. . . . The Gwè Shans held Madarâ, and were hostile to Alompra. A son of the deposed King of Burma took refuge in the . . . stockade. Alompra drove them out. They fled to Momeit, and the Burmese prince went with them." This agrees with the following report received at Peking in 1756: "The eldest son of the King of Burma was reduced to great straits on account of the wars with the Gwè people, and had gone with some native chiefs to Maing-lôn" (on the way from Madarâ to Momeit). In 1758 a further report was received at Peking to the effect that the Burmese King Mengdarâ had been killed by the Talaings: Alompra of Mozzobd had usurped the throne (1753-1760).

We have now reached the second stage of our discourse—the short transition period between the reappearance of China and the rise of Alompra. We may thus summarize: The *Manchu Annals*, being composed from original imperial words, are better authority than the *Momein Annals*, which are at best only stamped with viceregal approval; these, again, are better than the *Wars of Our Emperors*, which, besides being a private work, appears to be abridged from and based almost entirely upon the *Manchu Annals*, and cannot therefore override them. The evidence is almost positive in favour of Mengdarâ being the last king of the Taungu dynasty (1733-51); also in favour of there having been but one mission, which mission is mentioned variously in its starting, arrival, and return stages, as, we shall see, was again the case in 1787-89. Moreover the Chinese have always been scrupulous in holding on as Suzerains to the *de jure* line of vassal or friendly states, at least until a new line should have been *de facto* established: as, for instance, when the now reigning Annamese and Siamese families first gained their respective thrones.

The tribute sent by Mengdarâ was only sent by an ousted king, fighting for his life, and in any case it in no way concerned the dynasty Great Britain now represents.

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The Chinese always call Alompra by his Burmese title of Aungzeya, and say that he was a chief of Mozzobd (or Shwebd, as it is now called): the *Wars of Our Sovereigns* states in a note that, after usurping the Burmese throne, he sent to China a written document claiming descent from a King of the Byu (as the Burmese were then called) who received Chinese recognition in A.D. 97, and whose name also began with the syllable Aung. Neither the *Manchu Annals* nor the *Momein Annals* mentions this letter, which was probably the concoction of some shrewd Chinamen anxious to

gain Alompra's favour; but so far from this fact being against, it is in favour of the authenticity of the letter, for the author of the *Wars* specially tells us he served in various campaigns and had access to many local documents: and where he quotes documents not given in the *Manchu Annals*, without contradicting that work, he may well be believed, especially when his documents tell against rather than for Chinese prestige: moreover, no Chinese emperor or viceroy would publish an arrogant letter from Burma claiming anything like equality. But this document was probably what caused the Yün-nan authorities to make enquiry into what had occurred in Burma and send to the Emperor their report of a *fait accompli* in 1758.

Difficulties with China began in 1765, when the Chinese-Shan chieftainships of Keng-ma and Muang-lem declined to send to Alompra's son the presents which they used to despatch to his Taungu predecessors. "He was emboldened in this course by the fact of the Chinese having forborne to support the fugitive Gwè people." This statement, in the *Wars*, supports what Colonel Phayre says about the Chinese emissaries advising an attack on Madarâ, but retiring when it failed: moreover in the *Manchu Annals* a passage occurs where the Emperor himself sends down to enquire "where Madarâ is?" I do not think it worth while to follow the wearisome details of fighting in the Mékong valley. Suffice it to state that the Chinese did take Kathwa (Kah-fah) and Keng-tung, as stated by Burney; and that the Burmese general Ne-myo-tsi-thu is easily recognisable in the Chinese Nieh-miao-tse. It is quite true that, as Burney says, and as the Emperor admits, the Chinese were thoroughly thrashed. One viceroy voluntarily committed suicide, and his successor was ordered by the Emperor to do so. His son was taken prisoner and not released till 1788. The Thin-wi-buâh of Burney is either the Theinni chief or the Sien-wu-ko of the Chinese, *i.e.*, the Keng-tung chief they took prisoner; and Burney's Dô-bayá of Lu-ta-tshay-nhit-panna is Tao, chief of the Twelve panna of the Lü Shans (Tai).

The Chinese historians call Alompra's eldest son and successor (1760-3) Naungdaw-gyi by the personal name of Maung-tu, and the next son (in Burmese Maung Lauk), afterwards King Hsengbyinsheng, by the personal name of Maung Lo. To all intents *maung* may be said to mean "Mr.," and its use seems to have misled the Chinese into taking it for a family name. Burney says nothing about the Chinese occupation of Bhamo during October 1766, but the Chinese themselves admit that they held it for but a few days, and only temporarily re-occupied it when it was abandoned by the Burmese. This occupation appears to have furnished the pretext for China's claim to Bhamo in 1885.

According to Burney, in January, 1767, the King heard of a large Chinese force collecting at Shya-mue-loun under Tsu-ta-yeng, part of which was marching, *viâ* Sanda, upon Mogaung and part upon Kaung-toun: the Chinese were driven back to Mowun (Lung-ch'wan), and the Burmese general Bala Menden triumphantly held on to Kaung-toun. All this is confirmed by the Emperor's own words as thus summarised: General Chu-lun (*i.e.*, Chu Ta-jên) failed to prevent the Burmese from intercepting him at Chanta, and was himself driven back *viâ* Sha-mu-lung

to Lung-ch'wan (*i.e.*, Muang-wan or Mo-wun). Pula-mang-tang was the name of one of the Burmese generals holding Lao Kwan-t'un (Kaung-toun). General Chu-lun was ordered up to Peking for execution.

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The first campaign having thus utterly failed, the Emperor now appointed the duke Mingjwei to conduct an expedition upon Ava. Incidentally the Emperor mentions an idea he had entertained of looking for an heir of the Shui-t'i family after bringing the King to his senses: this is Tabeng Shwehti, the founder of the Taungu dynasty, and the remark thus supports what has already been said about the identity of Mengdarā. Mingjwei, who had not more than 20,000 troops under his total command, sent one column to co-operate with him *viâ* Momeit, whilst he himself marched upon Ava, after leaving General Chuluna (not the same as Chu-lun) in company with Yung-t'wan, the friendly chief of that place, to hold Theinni. All this is quite clear in Burney's account. Myeng-khoun-ye "the Emperor's son-in-law" (which he was not; he was only the Empress's nephew) and "his brother" Tsu-ta-lo-ye (which he also was not) mean "the duke Ming" and "his worship Chu." The native chief is in Burmese form Aung-duon, and the route followed by the Momeit column is exactly that of the thwarted January expedition upon Kaung-toun: in both cases the Burmese describe it as the Thinza (Sin-chai) Nuay-lein route, (the Loi-leng of our Blue-book maps), which practically means the "embassy road" between Bhamo or Kaung-toun and the T'ieh-pi Kwan frontier gate. There is no question as to the route followed by Mingjwei; every single Burmese name is easily identifiable in its Chinese dress; but in order not to weary readers with strange names and technical details, I confine myself to saying that the Burmese fully admit their initial defeats at Bangyi and Thonzé, while the Chinese on their part admit the final retreat of both columns, the suicides of both Mingjwei and Chuluna, and the execution of the other general Ertenge for cowardice and neglect to co-operate. The Emperor himself confesses that between ten and twenty per cent. of the 12,000 men forming the main column were killed.

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According to Burney, there was now a twelvemonth's cessation of hostilities in consequence of a message sent by the Burmese along with eight Chinese prisoners. This is confirmed word for word by the *Manchu Annals*, which say that the mother of the King wanted peace, and would have sent the letter by the captive son of the viceroy; but the Miao-wang-mu (apparently Amyauk-wun) suggested using the captive scholar as an amanuensis for correspondence and sending back eight soldiers instead.

The Emperor would not hear of peace without honour, and he did his best—unsuccessfully as regards results—to utilise Siam, Zimmé, and Manipur as allies against Burma. He sent down his brother-in-law the duke Fuhêng, the duke Alikun, and a number of other high Manchu officers civil and military to deal with the question. The two Manchu generals just named are Burney's Thu-koun-ye (the Burmese have no *f*) and A-koun-ye. Fuhêng's idea was to march himself with one column from Momein, cross the Irrawaddy at Kacho, and advance by way of Mogaung and

Mohnyin upon Mozzobò (which for a short time had been Alompra's capital) and Ava. The other column was to march, as had been done twice before, upon Kaung-toun, and it eventually occupied a strong position near Hantet,—the Shue-nyaung-beng of Burney,—twelve miles east of Kaung-toun, which was still held by Bala Menden. Spies brought information to the Chinese that the Burmese commander No-erh-t'a (one of the numerous Burmese generals carrying the name Nawratá) had been summoned from Kaung-toun to Ava, and that the Burmese force under Chan-la-ki at Kacho had also been withdrawn. Here, again, we have textual confirmation from Burney, who says that Tsan-lha-gyi and other generals went by water to relieve Kaung-toun.

Both columns failed. Fuhêng found considerable difficulty in crossing two swollen rivers on the right bank of the Irrawaddy, and soon discovered that others just as formidable would bar his proposed promenade to Mozzobò: besides, the Burmese were waiting for him at Mawlu: he therefore after two months of floundering had to leave Mohnyin, turn east, and make his way round to Bhamo, having achieved nothing beyond securing the submission of the Burmese-Shan chiefs of Mohnyin, Mogaung, etc. In fact, the other column, under General Akwei, having reached Bhamo, had to send a force across the Irrawaddy to meet Fuhêng and help him out of the mess he was in. Later on, the Emperor perceived that the Burmese strategy had evidently been to waste China's efforts upon this useless northern march. After the two columns had effected a junction, they hammered away vigorously at the Burmese stronghold of Kaung-toun during the whole of November, 1769; but it was in vain. There is indubitable evidence that despatches to and from Peking and the Burmese frontier were often conveyed at the rate of 200 English miles a day; occasionally even 260 or 270, and the Emperor is proved, by the language of his almost daily decrees, to have been very nervous about the result. He was too sensible a man to really believe in portents, but on this occasion he feigned to take warning from the erratic movements of a comet, and sent down word to the following effect: "If Kaung-toun is not taken by the time these commands arrive, one of the following courses must be adopted: (1) Either choose a healthy spot and encamp in Burma during the coming spring and summer; or (2) send messengers to order the King to submit; or (3) proclaim our withdrawal on the ground that our honour is satisfied by the losses we have inflicted on the right bank and at Bhamo. Fuhêng is directed (in strict confidence) to send a trusty messenger to tell the King "that, much though the Burmese deserve annihilation, the Emperor, in his pious desire to economise life, cannot endure the idea of wholesale slaughter, and that if he repents and submits you (Fuhêng) will, in obedience to his Majesty's wishes, withdraw the armies." When, later on, the Emperor heard that 13,000 out of 31,000 Chinese and Manchus had been killed, that Alikun was dead, and that most of the officers were down with fever, he went on to order "immediate withdrawal to Wild-cow Plain" (a healthy place where the boats had been built north of Bhamo on or near the Tapeng River); "tell the native chiefs" (*i.e.*, Kachins and Shans) "to do the fighting outside the frontier

gates; and give out, so as to stay the enemy's attacks, that we are coming again in force next year. You come to Peking at once, and leave Akwei to arrange all."

The Emperor of China thus distinctly gave in first, so far as he knew. After he had sent these distinct commands, he heard from Fuhêng that the Burmese general at Kaung-toun, Nawratâ, and the King of Burma himself had both sent in "prayers for the withdrawal" of the Chinese army, and that the imperialist general Hakwohing had already had an interview with Nawratâ on the subject. Fuhêng in reply had directed the Burmese "to prepare a submission letter begging leave to surrender; to deliver up prisoners; and to leave unharmed the local chiefs who had taken sides with China. If these terms were agreed to, he would ask the Emperor's permission to withdraw." Thus we find the Emperor ordered withdrawal because he saw he had failed, whilst Fuhêng only entered into negotiations after he had recognised his inability to conquer, and had reported in a sense which the Emperor clearly recognised as a confession of failure. It might be said by way of demur that the Burmese also offered terms before they knew of the Chinese decision to withdraw. We shall therefore examine the Burmese account as given by Burney. It is to the following general effect: "Thukounye and Akounye, observing the disastrous effect of defeats and privations, came to the conclusion that, even if success crowned their efforts at Kaung-toun, they could not get to Ava for want of supplies, and they therefore sent peace proposals, acknowledging in the first place the receipt of last year's letter conveyed to China by the eight prisoners, and undertaking, if Burma should send presents as was the custom in 1751, that China would do so too; that China had only engaged in war because the Shan chiefs of Theinni, Bhamo, Mogaung, and Keng-hung invited her; that China would surrender these chiefs to Burma, but that they should be restored by Burma to their old posts, and besides all Chinese prisoners must be returned." An officer whom the Burmese call the Kue-tsue-bò came with these propositions on the 3rd of December, 1869. He was told that all would have to be arranged at the frontier. He then asked where the frontier was supposed to be. He was told that the pagodas at Hotha, Latha, Mona, Tsanda, Keng-ma, Khamti, and Khan-nyen (Kan-ngai) showed what belonged to Burma, and that the Chinese should retire to Momein. He argued in reply that Burma had certainly once held these places for a short time, but that later on, under the same king, the Chinese had advanced to a point in Burma which still bears the name of "Chinese town." When this conversation was reported to General Thihathura, he sent word that the messenger must come again in five days. Thihathura then held a council, and offered to take upon himself the odium of agreeing to a peace. It was agreed, however, to invite the Chinese first to state categorically whether they preferred to settle the matter by arms or by negotiation. Thukounye and Akounye (the latter here stated to be the Emperor's son, which is both absurd and a mistake) wrote to the King to ask for the despatch of officers of rank, it being understood that for the present neither side would retire from the positions held. This letter for the King was brought on the 10th

December to the outposts by the Kue-tsue-bò and his interpreter, and was opened locally by his special request. The Kue-tsue-bò showed great anxiety, and said "If you want peace, let us retire to a suitable place," to which the Burmese officer replied that he would report the request to his general. On the 12th the imperialist officer went back with a reply from Thihathura, stating that he was willing to negotiate. Once more he returned to the Burmese outposts in order to fix a day, and the 13th was named; so that it is plain the two armies must have been almost in sight of each other. The meeting took place in a shed erected for the purpose, and situated to the south-east of the Kaung-toun stockade. The Kue-tsue-bò was the Chinese spokesman, and Nemyo Mahathura the Burmese. The Burmese first demanded the surrender of the Theinni, Bhamo, and Mogaung chiefs; they were informed that none of them were present in the Chinese camp but that they would assuredly be sent within six months. A treaty was then drawn up in the presence of detachments from the two armies, both parties taking a copy and undertaking to move their respective sovereigns to exchange affectionate letters in gold once in every ten years. The Burmese request for the surrender of boats was met with a promise to give them up after the cargoes of stores should have been landed at Bhamo; but the Chinese burnt them that very day. Presents were locally exchanged, and the Manchu generals sent others of greater value to the King. On the 18th of December the Chinese army began its march, large numbers of sick dying on the road. The Burmese meanwhile returned to Kaung-toun and Bhamo. The King on receipt of the news declined the proffered presents and totally disapproved the peace concluded by Thihathura; but the disgraced general, in January, 1770, succeeded in retrieving his position by conquering Manipur, from which place he returned to Ava on the 23rd March.

The Burmese (it is unknown, of course, on what authority) go on to record that Thukounye and Akounye reported to the Emperor that the three chiefs were to be surrendered by China, all Chinese prisoners returned by Burma, and embassies exchanged every ten years, in consequence of which satisfactory arrangement the Kue-tsue-bò and Kyin-men-ti-tu-ha ought to be rewarded. But the Emperor's kinsmen Ha-ta-yin and Tshin-ta-yin with two Tartar nobles suggested that the report might not all be true. They consequently came on a mission to Momein, but as their letters to Kaung-toun were very unfriendly in tone, their lieutenant and his fifty men were imprisoned. On this the Emperor ordered the Kue-tsue-bò to go and see to the matter himself, and he duly appeared at Mowun with 1,000 men. He sent a civil request for the release of the last party, and by this party, or a portion of it, opportunity was taken to return to China the uncivil letter: the Kue-tsue-bò sent this letter up to the Emperor, in consequence of which Ha, the two Tartars, and Tshin were ordered up to Peking in irons: Ha died on the road, but the other three were executed. By October, 1770, trade was going on as usual at Bhamo and Kaung-toun.

Colonel Burney adds that the Emperor never seems to have surrendered the three chiefs, and that no more correspondence can be found before Mengdarā Gyi's (Bodawprā's) time in 1781, when that usurping monarch

killed his nephew and predecessor : after his accession he sent a party to open communications, but they were seized by the Chinese and sent to Peking.

Now, apart from the fact that the above account, including the two last paragraphs of hearsay, bears upon its face the impress of truth, we find that the Chinese narrative, as gathered purely from the Emperor's own words, agrees with it in a marvellous way ; and, further, that where it does not so agree the Emperor suspects his generals are lying to him.

In the first place we are distinctly told that the "offer of terms" (*i.e.*, the meeting) took place on the 14th of the 11th moon. Fuhêng withdrew with 3,000 men on the 19th, and Akwei was to follow on the 20th, but they wasted one day more to see the boats burned. *Bò* in Burmese means "boss," and Kue-tsue-bò means the "boss" or commander of Kwei-chou, whose title in complimentary Chinese is *Kün-mên*, or in official style *t'i-tu*, which post was in fact titular to Hakwohing, whose name in Chinese would be simply *Ha*. Thus the two Burmese travesties really refer to one man and simply mean, syllable for syllable, "His Excellency the General Ha, Commander-in-Chief of Kwei-chou Province." After Alikun's death from a carbuncle before Kaung-toun, Akwei was ordered to take his place, and as both these officers would be called *A* by the Chinese, Akwei, though not yet a duke, would naturally figure as Akounye, especially as the Chinese would be sure to conceal Alikun's death from the Burmese. The letter from Fuhêng to the King was drafted by the Emperor himself ; but, as Fuhêng was down with dysentery, it is safe to assume, as indeed the Emperor subsequently admits, that there was some jugglery carried on behind his back : still Fuhêng himself had to submit (at his own prayer) to a nominal penalty for failure ; but, as he was very sick, the Emperor had not the heart to punish him : he managed to reach Peking alive, but only just in time to die there. According to the reports sent to the Emperor, the Burmese chief Te-luh-wan (=Talôk Wun, or "Chinese Minister," Nemyo) had "applied for an interview, and Hakwohing had gone with a letter to see him, ordering him to send tribute, which he promised." The presents "laid out for the favour of acceptance were at first sternly declined, but at last received ; however, Hakwohing was ordered to insist on strict vassal forms of speech in the coming letter : the Burmese chief made a memorandum of these words." Meanwhile the Emperor asked, "Is Keng-hung still ours?" He notes that the chiefs of Bhamo and Theinni are being given quarters on some waste horse-pastures in Yün Nan. The Mogaung chief declined the Emperor's offer of an asylum, but offered to be "a chief beyond our pale" : he was accordingly sent home, but the Burmese were told "not to molest him any more." The chief Pu-la Mang-t'ang of Kaung-toun applied for trading facilities, but the Emperor would not consent to this until the submissive letter should arrive. He said : "I have been able to put the trade screw on the Russians at Kiächta in connection with the surrender of people we want, and I will do it at Bhamo with the Burmese."

Three months went by, and still no letter. The Emperor wrote : "Where the devil is that letter ? What idiots we were to let the Mogaung chief go back ! Perhaps to save his own hide he has let the cat out of the

bag! I suspect the viceroy will be persuaded by Hakwohing to cook his report for my ears. Anyway, the Mogaung chief can only have told them of the wretched state of our army: he can't know we are pinched for horses and food too. What an awful thing if Burma knew this! Don't make a fuss about tribute! Those things they laid out at Kaung-toun can very well do duty for tribute. But I can't allow the prisoner question to rest: herewith a draft-letter from you to the King: have it translated and send it to Nawratâ in original too, but only with a small escort, so as not to alarm him. Of course it need not be sent if the submissive document has meanwhile come."

We next find the Emperor in terrible distress about a letter received on the 14th of the 3rd moon (middle of April) from Pu-la No-erh-t'a (evidently Bala Menden and one of the numerous Nawratâs): it was delivered at or near the Tiger-squatting frontier-gate (close to the Warabon of the Blue-Book maps), and wanted to know "why the chiefs of Bhamo, Theinni, and Mogaung had not been given up as promised by the Manchu gentleman at the conference?" The Emperor's distress was because the Burmese demand had been received before the Chinese demand for prisoners was made, and he began to wake up to the fact that Burma was less anxious about her trade than about her honour. "It is clear," he says, "that Burma has now discovered that we withdrew because we were unable to remain. We shall be having the Burmese at Momein if you don't mind!" Hakwohing was called upon for an explanation and ordered to Peking. It is not true that he died on the road: the Emperor accepted his denial so far that he declined to convict him on the mere word of a barbarian, and he was sent back to assist at the Burmese frontier. He was killed in 1773 during the Tibetan wars. However, that part of the Burmese narrative is admittedly hearsay, and they cannot be expected to have accurate information of what took place between the Emperor and his officers. There is, in short, no essential discrepancy between the two accounts of what took place.

The following explicit statement by the Emperor himself settles the whole question: "I ordered withdrawal before I heard of the Burmese submission and of Fuhêng's dysentery, because I saw that my brave Tartars were rapidly dying off, and (as in any case we could not take Ava) it was useless to persist in trying to take Kaung-toun. But Akwei made a great mistake in showing to the Burmese his eagerness to be off, instead of utilising their advances and turning the unexpected piece of luck to account. Fuhêng was also to blame for letting the Mogaung chief go back. Akwei now tries to persuade me that Burma is afraid of us. If so, why does she not return our prisoners? Nawratâ even adds a new demand for the surrender of their own refugees! Does this show fear?" The "two Tartar nobles" of the Burmese account are evidently the two Manchu officers (Pochinge and another) of the Chinese account, who were present at the treaty meeting: "On their return to Peking they exhibited a bond signed by all the staff calling upon Fuhêng to withdraw, and unanimously relieving him of all odium." The Burmese Tshin-ta-yin is evidently the viceroy Changpao, whom the Chinese would call Chang Ta-jên.

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It is unnecessary to go into the correspondence which passed during the next few years: all messengers were detained on both sides. The Emperor tried to injure Burma cheaply as much as possible. The successions of Singuza (Chuikioya, 1776) and Bodawprâ *alias* Maung Waing (Mêng Yün, 1781) were duly reported to Peking, and there are the fullest particulars available in case anyone wishes to know the exact truth on any specific point. I shall, however, imitate Burney, who skips all this, and proceed at once to the mission of 1787.

Burney says that on the 3rd of April, 1787, a report was received from the Shan chief of Theinni that a Chinese mission had arrived there on its way to Ava with a letter of gold and presents. It was under "E-tsho-ye", which sounds like the title of a subordinate military officer. On the 6th of May the mission left Theinni for Amarapura (the new capital) and "E-tsho-ye" was "made to keep bowing" and to lay out his presents before the Court. The first part of the letter he read out is turgid Burmese stuff which could not have possibly been translated from original Chinese, but there is one intelligible sentence in it to the effect that the "son of the lord of Keng-ma" is sent on a mission. In the conversation which followed E-tsho-ye said he had taken 164 days to arrive from Peking. He was made to stand up, whilst the Burmese princes all filed out in precedence of him. On the 10th of June he was sent back with a letter, accompanied by the return Burmese envoys Nemyo Shue-daung, Thiha Gyo-gaung, and Weluthaya. The letter was to the effect that "the son of the lord of Keng-ma had arrived on the 26th of May." Four elephants, 100 viss of ivory, a jewelled helmet, rings, gems, etc., were sent as presents.

Now it is of course absurd to suppose that the Emperor of China would send an envoy first, after vainly endeavouring for twenty years to irritate Burma into submission. His last recorded utterances were in 1782: "I won't have another war: there is no need to send spies. If the new king likes to come with tribute, well and good: if not, I don't care. If Singuza's adherents fly to China, give them decent asylum at a distance from the frontier." In 1787 the Emperor was waging successful war with Nepaul and Annam, and loudly bragging of his conquests (in which he never once included Burma), and it is totally out of the question to assume that he would send presents to a "naked nigger", as he once called the Burmese King. But he was actively preparing to celebrate his 80th birthday in 1790, and the fact that the *Manchu Annals* record a visit to Peking in 1790 of the son and heir of the Keng-ma chief, with tribute of his own, is strong evidence in favour of the supposition that the Burmese story, of which we shall prove more than half to be true, is absolutely true from first to last. There is no other instance recorded in Manchu history, at any date, of a Shan chief having sent an independent envoy to Peking; and, besides this, the Chinese themselves say in 1767 that "Burma was intriguing with the Chinese Shan of Keng-ma," who therefore probably got up the bogus mission to Burma.

The Chinese account of what Burney calls the Burmese return embassy is to the following effect:

In the summer of the year 1788, *à propos* of nothing and quite suddenly, three high Burmese officers called Nie-miao Shui-tung, Si-ha Kio-k'ung,

and Wei-lu Sa-ya were reported at "the river" (Kun-lôn Ferry) with tribute of elephants, jewels, etc. They explained that they had come *viâ* Theinni because the Kaung-toun road [or "embassy route"] was bad for elephants. The viceroy sent an officer named Tingchu to get translations of their documents, and said he was going himself to Shun-ning to meet them: one of the Burmese was sent back for the chief prisoner, the captive son of the former viceroy, who, the chief of Keng-ma said, was about to be restored. The Emperor was very angry with the viceroy for raising these difficulties, and ordered the mission to be sent up to Jêho in time to lend additional colour to the grand Mongol durbar in September. The viceroy, who was ordered to send exact dates of every move, reported that no time had been lost, and that the mission had left Tali Fu for Peking eleven days after his own or his messenger's arrival at Shun-ning. (The language is equivocal.) On the 5th of the 9th moon Si-ha Kio-k'ung and his companions had audience, and the following day the Emperor issued an order, in which, however, nothing specific is said of tribute, investiture, or decennial missions, although mention is made of the King having once been a priest and having removed to a new capital. The letter is in the usual turgid patronising style, setting forth in general terms the advantages of dutiful submission to China. The Burmese say that Nemyo fell sick and had to go back, which accounts for the Chinese not naming him at Peking.

Now let us see what Burney says. On the 6th July, 1787, the mission left Theinni for Keng-ma, where it remained five months. On the 23 January, 1788, it reached Shun-li (Shun-ning) where Ti-ta-yin (Ting Ta-jên) was sent by the viceroy to receive them. Here they were detained another five months, but permission to advance arrived on the 25th June. On the 1st July they reached Tathi (Tali Fu), and on the 12th the viceroy came from Yün-nan Fu to meet them there: on the 21st orders arrived from the Emperor that they must reach Peking within 50 days. On the 23rd they left Tathi, and on the 23rd September arrived at Luko Khyauk (the new railway terminus west of Peking at Lou-kou K'iao). On the 29th September they reached Zhehol (Jêho, or Jêho-rh as it is locally called), and had their first audience on the 1st October.

The viceroy of course meant the Emperor to understand that *he* had gone to Shun-ning, as he had originally stated; but, as the Burmese left that place on the 1st July, his record of dates is clearly what the Chinese call a piece of "pencil jugglery." He reached Tali on the 12th July (10th of 6th moon), and the mission left it on the 23rd (21st of 6th moon), that is eleven days later. His own words are: "Shun-ning was reached on the 10th, and the mission duly left Tali on the 21st." Thus we are able to fix two precise dates in the calendars. July and August have both 31 days: no Chinese moon has ever more than 30; sometimes 29. Thus the 5th of the 9th moon would be exactly the 1st of October.

The envoys record that Ho-tsoun-teng (*i.e.*, Ho Chung-t'ang, or the grand secretary Hoshên) prompted them to get up a fictitious conversation with him, so as to make the Emperor turn round as he passed, and ask what they were saying. The prepared answer was: "We are astonished to see how hale and hearty his Majesty looks for his age." This is but another proof of how the Emperor's courtiers "cooked" everything to

suit his palate. Whilst at Peking the envoys pressed for the return of six captives, and appear to have been very hospitably treated. The whole of the rest of the Burmese narrative, even to the gossip about flight of the King of Annam and the campaign of the Kueng-thi Titu Yui-ta-yin (Hü Ta-jên, General of Kwang Si) is so vivid that there cannot be the faintest doubt of its good faith.

The result of this mission as recorded by the Chinese was that Siam was ordered to keep the peace with Burma; the six captives were sent back all the way from Tartary, and the watchful viceroy kept the Emperor well informed concerning the King's reception of the envoys on their return to Amarapura. The viceroy's deputy escorting the surrendered men to Burma was instructed to use as a hint the following language, *in his own name only*, if it should appear to him that the King desired investiture: "The Emperor sends you these six men as a reward for your submissiveness. Next year is his Majesty's 80th birthday, and if you send an envoy with proper respect the viceroy will doubtless make any representation you wish, in which case the Emperor will be sure to bestow special favour."

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I now propose to take leave of the subject for the present, as this paper has already attained considerable length, and moreover there is a very important omission from the Burmese account as translated by Colonel Burney. The mission to China of 1790, the one accompanied by the chief of Keng-ma, is not mentioned at all, whereas in the *Manchu Annals* it is described with such circumstantial details that there can be no doubt the Emperor thought it took place, and that it was really sent or got up by someone. On the other hand a Chinese mission is recorded by Burney to have reached Amarapura on the 15th October, 1790, with a present of "three princesses" for the King: there can be no doubt here, again, from the details given that a gross fraud was practised upon Bodawprâ, for no mention whatever is made of any such mission by the Chinese. It seems highly probable that the enterprising chief of Keng-ma (who, the Burmese also admit, was tributary to both) got up bogus missions to please both monarchs. However, that is matter for a second paper, which will treat of all the embassies purporting to have been exchanged subsequent to the unmistakable one of 1787-9.

So far as I have carried the inquiry in this paper, it will be seen that, on succeeding to the throne of China, the Manchus never asserted any suzerainty over Burma; that a century elapsed without there being any official relations between Peking and Ava; that, if any Burmese King sent a mission to the Manchus previous to 1787-9, it was a dethroned monarch struggling to get back his lost crown; that China was, even according to her own admission, beaten in all her wars with the Alompra dynasty; that the Burmese mission of 1787-9 was purely voluntary; and that the Emperor's last words, when we leave him in 1789, are to approve the viceroy's action in sounding the Burmese King in order to see if he was willing to apply, in proper form, for Chinese investiture. In short, up to 1789 the Burmese may rightly claim to have successfully asserted that

"We will nothing pay

For wearing our own noses."

In the spring of 1790 the Yün Nan viceroy informed the Emperor that the Burmese "chief" had prepared an address with suitable tribute, and was sending envoys to congratulate his Majesty on his 80th birthday and apply for investiture as "king." I may add that the use of the word "chief" always implies that no royal title is as yet recognized by China. The name of the envoy, in its Chinese dress, was Pien-kü-wei-t'o (some such Burmese name as Pyangyi-Gwedaw). The mission reached Yün-nan Fu by the now so-called "embassy route," *i.e.*, *via* Bhamo and T'ieh-pi Kwan, during May, and there applied for the re-opening of trade with Momein, besides "investiture to govern Ava territory." There can be no question that a mission was sent by some one, for there are innumerable indications of its genuineness: for instance, the viceroy states that it is starting from Ava on "beg-pardon day" at the Burmese New Year,—a Burmese ceremonial which could not have been invented. Then, again, the Emperor was so delighted that he ordered the Canton viceroy to "tell the new King of Annam who is now on his way to Peking;" and the Burmese envoy certainly did appear at Jêho in Tartary, together with the envoys of Corea, Luang Prabang, etc. But, so far from mentioning this Burmese Mission to China, Burney says that a Chinese Mission to Burma was reported at the frontier in September 1790, and, travelling by the "embassy route" above described, reached Amarapura on the 15th October. Three Chinese princesses were brought as presents to the king: their names were Ta-Kungyen, E-Kungyen, and Than-Kungyen. Burney himself ridicules the idea of these being princesses, or even Chinese, and describes them as being natives of Malong in Yün Nan, and the instruments of a swindle on the part of the viceroy. Of course the Chinese make no mention of this mission to Burma, and it is preposterous in any case to suppose that princesses would be given to a "naked nigger." Here, then, we are confronted with two missions, of which neither side is conscious of sending its alleged share, but of which each side imagines it received one. Even Burney detected a fraud on the part of the viceroy, and I now propose to prove that this supposed defect was a double one, both countries being equally victims.

In the first place the viceroy Fukang, after being once removed from his post, was sentenced to death for corruption in 1800; so that his evil record counts against China. In the next place, as we have seen, the Emperor had already dropped a hint to Fukang to induce a mission to come if he could manage it. In the third place, when the Burmese mission reached Yün-nan Fu, "the Emperor ordered the viceroy to send an agent of rank and a general to take some presents in the first instance to Ava, and deliver them in person, at the same time formally investing the chieftain as king: the Emperor added that the seal and patent would be later on delivered to the Burmese envoys at Jêho. The Burmese envoys must arrive there one day before the envoys of Nanchang (*i.e.*, Luang Prabang), and the viceroy can grant trade at Momein in a viceregal despatch, as it is an unfit subject for the Emperor's decree." Here, therefore, is strong presumptive evidence that there was every temptation to deceive the Emperor. In a postscript the Emperor adds: "The Keng-ma chief, who

has sent his son with elephants to Yün-nan Fu, has shown zeal and ability in arranging these questions of submission, and I hereby order he be presented with some silks." In the fourth place, it was discovered in the year 1809 that the King of Nanchang, when he received his investiture in 1795, was actually then a refugee in Tonquin, to which country he had fled from his usurping uncle: it was also remembered that in 1800 and 1805 there had been received at Peking two tribute missions purporting to have come from Nanchang. The Emperor therefore directed an inquiry into the question "Who sent them?" But, having ascertained from the King of Annam that the said refugee was a feeble creature, he directed that he still be left in Tonquin as a refugee; and that, as Nanchang had in any case been respectful, it would be better not to inquire too deeply into the question "Who got up the missions?" So that here we have clear evidence of the existence of bogus missions. In the fifth place, Burney's surmise about Malong sounds correct, for in that city there then were, and probably still are, a tribe of Lolos, called Nahou, a race with very white skins, easily to be passed off as Manchus, or even as Europeans, and their "names" simply mean Ta Ku-niang "Miss No. 1;" Êrh Ku-niang (Cantonese, I Ku-nöng), "Miss No. 2;" and San Ku-niang, "Miss No. 3." The trick of buying slaves and passing them off as princesses upon Turks, Tibetans, and inferior tribes generally, has been steadily practised by China for the past 2,000 years.

Now let us sum up the evidence. We have seen that in 1788 the Chinese were *surprised* to see a Burmese envoy, and that this was *subsequent* to the receipt by Burma of a Chinese mission described by Burney, but of which China knows nothing. We have shown that the Keng-ma chief and his son, both of whom are mentioned by both China and Burma, probably by getting up a bogus Chinese mission first deceived Burma into sending this mission. We have seen that the viceroy was subsequently sentenced to death for fraud, and we may now add that Hoshên, who in 1788 got up the bogus speech at Jêho, was also convicted of both fraud and treason in 1799, and was ordered to commit suicide. We also see that the Emperor gave the viceroy a hint, and that (even supposing the mission of 1790 to be genuine) he sent preliminary presents and investiture to Ava *before* the Burmese envoys reached Jêho. The King of Burma got his trade, but the Emperor kept this concession out of his decree. Our old friends of Keng-ma turn up at Yün-nan Fu at the same time as the Burmese, and even though they are not mentioned by name as being also at Peking, at all events the Emperor rewards them for "arranging submissions." Lastly, we find the Emperor's successor discovering that the Nanchang mission, which arrived at Jêho within a day of the Burmese, had been sent by someone unknown whilst the supposed sender was a refugee in a foreign state, and that the subsequent Nanchang missions of 1800 and 1805 were bogus too.

The only conclusion it is possible to arrive at is that, whilst he was deceived by a bogus Chinese mission into sending the 1788 mission, and did *not* even then apply for a suzerain's recognition, the King of Burma in 1790 positively sent no mission at all; but that the viceroy and the

Keng-ma chief between them so managed, firstly, the Emperor's voluntary presents, and, secondly, his escort returning with the Burmese from Peking, as to make it appear to the King of Burma that China was again sending an original mission to him.

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At the end of 1791 Burma figures in the *Manchu Annals* amongst the countries which sent tribute that year. There is some slender foundation for this story, but beyond that the statement possesses no significance. In 1791 one of the Burmese messengers, who had already been employed in 1777 as such, came to the frontier gate to thank the Emperor for granting trade, and to restore to China two Amoy men captured in war from the Siamese. The Emperor commended this "dutiful behaviour," and sent presents to the gate for conveyance by that same messenger to the king. The messenger in question was, according to the Chinese account, the chief of Bhamo, and a vassal to Burma. Burney also mentions that it was the chief of Bhamo who first reported to Burma the arrival of the Chinese "mission" of 1790, so that we may safely assume this gentleman, like his colleague of Keng-ma, was "hand-and-glove" with the viceroy, and had something to do with all the bogus missions.

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We now touch solid ground once more, and come to the mission of 1792-3. Burney says the Bhamo chief (the one above-named) himself went to Peking on this occasion, and on his return gave Dr. Buchanan Hamilton an account of it, which is published in No. 5 of the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*. The mission left Amarapura on the 27th October 1792, and on his return the Bhamo chief brought back for the King of Burma a seal conveying upon the king "power in China equal to that of the Emperor." It was in the shape of a golden camel, weighed ten pounds, and was then (60 years ago) still at Ava.

The Manchu account is that Mêng Kan (*i.e.*, Burney's Nemyo Mintha Nawratâ), chief of Bhamo, applied at Peking in person, according to his own statement with the King of Burma's consent, during the autumn of 1793 for a regrant of the old Bhamo seal. It was explained to him that it had been granted by the Chinese dynasty when Chu Yu-lang, as we have said, was a fugitive in Burma. He was granted a new Manchu seal, and was informed that it was the same in principle to that granted to Theinni (*i.e.*, Mupang), "both states thus receiving imperial favour, but both continuing subject to Burma." The Emperor declined to give back the old seal, which, I presume, got into his possession when the chiefs of Theinni and Bhamo fled to China in 1769-70.

I have before me the original decrees granting a seal to Burma in 1790, and another to Bhamo in 1793. If therefore the gold camel was still kept at Ava in 1836, it must have been the seal of 1790, for the Bhamo chief was still using the 1793 seal when we took Upper Burma in 1885. The "bogus" mission to Burma and princesses of October 1790 were probably the presents which the Emperor had ordered to be sent in the spring of 1790 when the "bogus" mission to China arrived. The ingenious viceroy so worked matters that the Emperor imagined he was sending to the King

preliminary presents *after* the king's envoys had reached Yün Nan; but these presents were manifestly held back by the viceroy until the return of those spurious envoys with a Chinese escort. The "envoys" (never having been sent by the king at all) then slipped aside, and the Chinese escort took on all the presents, preliminary and later, really authorised, *plus* the three girls, and thus did duty as an original mission from China to Burma. As to the seal, Burma never having condescended to ask for it, it must have been kept in Yün Nan until the Bhamo chief's return from Peking in 1793. The King of Burma in 1792 admittedly sent presents by this chief, both for the Emperor and the viceroy; and, as we have seen, the same chief had on his own account been to the frontier in 1791. Having secured his own seal in 1792-3, on his return the viceroy would be glad to "unload" the Burmese seal on to him too. He would of course take it to Ava, and the king would keep it as a curio, not having the faintest idea what the Manchu characters meant. It is significant that Burney "was not, however, able to find any notice of this in the Burmese Annals." His knowledge of the seal was not obtained from official sources.

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In the autumn (September-October) of 1795 the following laconic notice appears: "Mandates were bestowed on Maung Waing (Mêng Yün), King of Burma, and Shao Wên-mêng (*i.e.*, the one afterwards found to have been an exile in Annam), King of Nanchang." What these mandates said we do not know, but probably they hinted at the abdication ceremonies which were to take place on the 1st of the new year, 1796. Their sudden appearance in the Annals is partly explained by the following summarised account from Burney:—"On the 25th August, 1795, a Chinese embassy appeared at Amarapura with presents. Symes *saw* it, and considered it a provincial deputation only. I (Burney) doubt if *any* genuine Peking missions ever came to Burma, but imagine that the viceroy, in return for golden letters sent from Burma, sends officers to accompany the Burmese missions, and that these officers, on reaching Yün Nan, inform the Burmese that they are unable to accompany the mission all the way to Peking, as they have just been promoted to higher posts." The viceroy, knowing that the Emperor wanted the "biggest show on earth" for the abdication feasts, evidently did his best to coax the king betimes. This view is practically proved by the following further statement from Burney: "On the 22 March, 1796, a Chinese mission with a letter and presents arrived at Amarapura. I (Burney) have a copy of the letter, which, though badly translated, is undoubtedly genuine, for it deals with the coming abdication and the system of choosing an heir in vogue." The king sent a suitable reply. From the further particulars given, all absolutely correct, I am in a position to say that the letter must have been genuine, and that it was, in fact, the mandate of 1792. It is quite the custom in China to send circular notifications to vassal powers on all great imperial occasions, and, though Burney mentions no mission to China in 1795, it is evident that the viceroy's machinations must have been successful, for Burma (in the excellent company of Nanchang and England) appears in the list of tribute-bearers for 1795. The Chinese discovered the Nanchang fraud in 1809, *

and we know that Lord Macartney left China in 1793. None the less the good faith of the Emperor and the Annals is unimpeachable, for some one did send an English royal letter from Canton in 1795, and I published the Emperor's reply to King George III. in the *Nineteenth Century* for July, 1896.

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In 1796 the succeeding viceroy Lépaò sent back a Burmese mission because tribute was not yet due. The new Emperor reprimands the viceroy, on the ground that special rejoicings are taking place, and consoles the King by sending him some silks. We have seen that according to Burney the King sent a suitable reply in 1796, and no doubt this was it.

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The same Bhamo chief continues active up to 1807, but the Emperor observes strict neutrality in Burmo-Siamese affairs, and whilst continuing to assert Chinese nominal rights over Mainglem and Keng-hung (the whole of the 12 *panna*), declines to interfere actively in their disputes. Burma does not figure as a tribute-bearer for 16 years after 1793, so that even on Chinese evidence the decennial rule was not enforced.

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The Chinese mention 1811 and 1823 as the only two subsequent years in which Burma sent envoys. Though Burney does not allude to the former, he describes the latter, which by implication explains both. The Chinese record that, on the accession of a new Emperor in 1820, the usual circular notification was sent to Burma, Siam, Nanchang, etc. The first year of the new reign was 1821. Burney says that in 1822 a translation of a letter from the Emperor was brought; so that it must have been delayed. The Emperor refers to the missions of 1749 and 1787—the only two which are unmistakably genuine—and also to that of 1811: he adds that twelve years have now elapsed since missions were exchanged with the King's grandfather, and that it is now the second year (1822) of the new Chinese reign (the whole of 1820 belongs to the deceased Emperor's reign). The Emperor names the officers sent with presents. This letter is unquestionably authentic, and we may therefore assume that the allusion to 1811 is accurate too: in fact, Burney himself says there must have been other missions, though the Burmese Annals do not mention them, previous to 1823. Burney says the "present King" (*i.e.*, Bagyidaw, 1819-37, grandson of Bodawpra) sent missions to Peking *viâ* Bhamo in 1823 and 1833, and that he had copies of their reports and travelling routes. He says both of them accompanied the return Chinese missions back to Yün Nan, and went thence straight to Peking. The Chinese account proves that this must have been the case in 1823, and leaves it probable that it was also so in 1833; for in that year and in 1834 Burma again appears as a tribute-bearer,—without further comment. The return letter of 1823 was sent by the Nemyo Menthá and others in his suite, which fact looks as though Mêng Kan of Bhamo was still living. Burney mentions that in this letter the King of Burma carefully refrained from using obsequious language, and would not even recognize the Emperor's self-assumed title of "elder brother." The mission took the usual "embassy-route" *viâ* Bhamo;

Tieh-pi Kwan, etc., and reached Peking on the 22 January, 1824, which would still be the end of the Chinese 1823. It is from the route diaries of these missions that we are able presumptively to fix some of the points where the frontier ought to be, and to defeat the attempts of the Chinese to thrust it back.

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The last Burmese mission to China, up to the time when Burney wrote in 1836, was that of 1833, which, so far as the Burmese knew, was in reply to a mission first sent by China. The supposed imperial letter, received in Ava during April, is Burmese trash, so that we may safely assume the Emperor never sent it. The route taken was the same as before, but the "Mentha Yaza" of Bhamo, who was to assist the mission along, is evidently no longer our old acquaintance the Mentha or "prince Mêng Kan : it reached Peking on the 3rd February, 1834, which date again, was evidently the end of the Chinese 1833.

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Bagyidaw's lunacy was duly reported in 1838, but the Emperor declined to interfere in the strife for succession. Tharawady's ultimate peaceful accession was announced in 1840; and in 1842 the Canton viceroy, who was then engaged with the English, suggested that "just as Burma was allowed to come with tribute after hostilities, so might England be allowed to trade at the ports." This remark is of interest as suggesting that (as I have shown) Burma got her trade conceded without having ever been beaten by China, or having ever consciously paid tribute or recognized China's supremacy.

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In 1843 the Manchu Annals enumerate Burma amongst the tribute bearers. When in Burma, I ascertained that there were good grounds to believe this in a measure; that is, so far as the Burmese knew, the Emperor wrote first; but the supposed letter is manifestly a Burmese fraud, like that of 1833: there is not a line in it which could possibly be Chinese. Tharawady's reply makes it clear that his envoys were accompanying what he supposed to be the return Chinese mission.

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The Supplementary Annals, which are brought down to 1861, contain no mention of Burma, though India and Nepaul are frequently reported upon. Manchu rule was not really effectively re-established after the Taiping rebellion until after the crushing of Yakub Beg in Turkestan and of the Panthay Sultan of Yün Nan, whose son I met in Rangoon in 1892. Burma evidently began to feel uneasy, for it is quite certain that she sent an embassy to China in 1874. The King's (Mendoon's) reply recites that the Panthay rebellion had for two decades (*i.e.*, 1853 and 1863) put a stop to the exchange of presents, but that he had been expecting their arrival during 1873; that, during February 1874, an accumulation of letters had arrived announcing the accession of 1862, the marriage of the Emperor in 1872, the retirement of the Dowager Regents in 1873, etc., etc. The Chinese envoys or messengers who brought them said that their object was to see if the roads were open; that they had not brought the usual presents

this time, but that they would do so in a few months. The King went on to say that he on his part would also retain his presents to the Emperor until the Chinese gifts should have arrived as promised. But circumstances seem to have changed his mind, for in November, 1874 (just when the Margary expedition was at work) Mendoon wrote to say that, "as the roads are now re-opened, we have thought fit not to await the arrival of the Chinese presents." Accordingly the Burmese mission started, as usual under the care of the Bhamo chief, by the T'ieh-pi Kwan route, and it was from this point that the Burmese escort turned back. The death of the Emperor caused the Burmese envoys a little delay, but they duly reached Peking in September, 1875. A Burmese escort again met them on their return at T'ieh-pi Kwan, and by September, 1876, they were once more in Mandalay.

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During the reign of Thibaw, 1878-85, there were no official communications of any kind between China and Burma, but according to the Chinese newspapers the Keng-hung chief, to whom the King of Burma had given a daughter in marriage, kept up intrigues with Thibaw with a view to getting rid of British influence: there was no difficulty about carrying on this intrigue, for Garnier had ten years earlier found the Burmese and Chinese residents in Keng-hung harmoniously working together.

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The Convention of 24 July, 1886, provides that "Inasmuch as it has been the practice of Burma to send decennial Missions to present articles of local produce, England agrees that the highest authority in Burma shall send the customary decennial Missions, the members of the Missions to be of the Burmese race."

It appears clearly from the particulars above given, extracted direct from the *Munchu Annals* and from Captain Burney's account, that the "customary decennial Missions" were always preceded by similar Missions from China, bearing presents; and that if by any deception China has been misled to think otherwise, so also the King of Burma has by the same deception been led to think differently from China; and the deceivers have most certainly been the Chinese viceroys, the Chinese vassal of Keng-ma, and possibly to a minor degree the Burmo-Chinese vassal of Keng-hung and the Burmese vassal of Bhamo. If China has documents to produce, so has Burma. Moreover, there is nothing to show that these customary missions to China were ever viewed by Burma in the light of tribute missions: on the contrary, the evidence is clear that China was thoroughly defeated by Burma all along the line; that the Emperor was anxious to coax Burma to apply for investiture, and that Burma never did so. If she did, no doubt the original evidence can be produced.

The crux of the whole business is therefore the word "customary," a strict construction of which would perhaps have the unlooked-for result of bringing Chinese tribute to Burma. Under the circumstances, therefore, it is scarcely to be wondered at that Thibaw sent no mission to China in 1883, and that China failed to send her preliminary presents to Burma in 1893.

THE REVENUE SYSTEM OF SYRIA AND EGYPT.*

BY J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (RET.).

IN a recent number of this review and now in our issue of July last, some interesting details were given of taxation in the South of India in the 11th and 18th centuries A.D. It may be worth while to compare them with the accounts given in the Kitāb ul Kharāj of Abu Yusuf—a work published with a commentary at Cairo in 1873. The book deals with the taxation and revenue procedure in force in Egypt, Syria, and Arabia during the last two centuries, and also contains many extracts from older authors. For the most part it is an undigested farrago of facts—much like an Indian “dastur ul a’mī”; but it is relieved by an occasional touch of humour, and contains much noteworthy information. The revenue system in Syria and Egypt is virtually the same—due allowance being made for numberless local variations.

Geographical and historical peculiarities give Arabia a different character; and it is the especial home of the Bedawin who according to the author are born to be the plague of the tax-gatherer, for one can neither catch them, nor squeeze anything out of them when caught. Arabia therefore has more or less a system of its own.

The land-tax is of course the backbone of the revenue. It is levied on inhabited sites, and on waste lands used for sports or any other purpose. But the bulk of the tax falls of course on cultivated land, and like almost all taxes, is payable in money or in kind. On small plots the tax is sometimes as low as one-fourth: but everywhere else two-thirds of the produce are legally due: and the tax had been exacted with such rigour in the east of Syria that large tracts of country had become desolate. The method of assessment is not described, but it must be purely arbitrary, judging by what the author says elsewhere. The burden of the tax is not lightened by the method of its exaction. The village sheikh is responsible for the whole, and left to apportion the amount among the villagers. With that the Government has no concern. In times of famine the land tax is suspended merely, not remitted, and the arrears have to be paid in full the

* We insert this interesting and suggestive paper by Mr. J. Kennedy, a retired Indian Civilian, as a corroboration of Sir Frederick Goldsmid's comparison of Egypt a hundred years ago. The above paper seems to us to be not only interesting in itself, but also suggestive as a comparison, *inter alia*, between Egypt as it was a short time before the English occupation and as it is, presumably, now, though its author, concerned only with the consideration of a native revenue system, does not enter on current politics. This paper appropriately follows “two retrospects of Egypt” (of 150 and 80 years ago) which Sir Frederick Goldsmid contributed to our last October number. The present administration of Egypt has been discussed in this Review from native Egyptian, British and French standpoints, but we can scarcely, as yet, affirm that the question has, hitherto, been exhaustively treated from a purely academical and objective standpoint and absolutely apart from national or other preconceptions, however unconsciously held.—*Ed.*

following year. Arrears, I may remark, have always been the bane of Oriental revenue systems; they accumulate from year to year without limit of time—so that a man may be, and sometimes is, called on to pay for balances which accrued in a former generation. In Arabia there is no land tax except on land artificially irrigated or improved.

In addition to the land tax the cultivator had formerly to pay in many places on the means of irrigation. Moreover when the cultivator takes his grain to market, he has to pay again. There are not only taxes on all kinds of food, says the author, but now they begin to tax all manner of luxuries. According to an older writer, Muhammad Ibn Yusuf, almost everything in use was taxed. There were taxes on shoes, on clothes, on arms: taxes on almost everything imported into or exported from the country, transit duties on goods passing through a town or district; taxes on strangers who resided more than a month. There are taxes on donkeys and mules, horses and camels, taxes even on dogs, "which are hard," as one may well believe, "to realize." A man servant pays as much as a donkey, a female servant only half. There are taxes on money, an income tax, a license tax. The tax on marriages along the Red Sea littoral amounts to one-fourth of the dowry, and people escape elsewhere to be married. Then beside the Government taxes there is the mosque tax, which the keepers of the mosque collect; they ought to pay it over to the Government, but much of it disappears "in ways known doubtless to them" but untraceable by the Government officials. The mosques also pay a tax on every lamp beyond 22 which they burn. There are never more than 22 (Abu Yusuf plaintively remarks) when the tax-gatherer pays his visit.

From these taxes certain things used to be exempt. The lands attached to mosques ought to pay nothing to Government; and in former days in Syria the descendants of the Prophet, and especially of Fatima were free. Now all must pay, although they are still entitled to a refund of one-third of the taxes they have paid, but, the author adds, they rarely get it.

Taxes are enforced by stripes, imprisonment, or the attachment and confiscation of goods. In Bagdad the merchant used to receive one stripe for every "*ratt*" of merchandise he tried to smuggle. Imprisonment was a common punishment for defalcation: but, says Abu Yusuf, the defaulter flies the town or the country, or he turns into a different person and gives a false name. If the defaulter's goods are seized, they invariably turn out to be the goods of some third party. By these means numbers of men, according to the author, live from year to year in Syria, without paying a piastre.

The shifts to escape taxation are numberless and the speculation great, for the Governors generally appoint their own servants to collect the taxes. Moreover, all the taxes, with the exception of the royal, or war tax, are payable in kind; and the opportunities of fraud immense. The merchants smuggle their goods out of the country by night or despatch them by some roundabout route, or the defaulters disappear when the tax-gatherer goes his rounds. For all these things there are sovereign remedies. According to Abu Yusuf two principles should always be borne in mind. If a merchant makes a smaller return than he should have done, charge him for

what you suspect to be the full amount. If the defaulter absconds, then those who have already paid must make up the deficit.

The Bedawin are obnoxious in the author's eyes, the Europeans are troublesome, but the Sunnis are the worst offenders. For there is a party among them which declares that true believers should pay no taxes at all except for the service of Allah, and ventures to quote the Koran in its support. The author brings irony to the aid of theology and logic to combat such an absurd proposition, and triumphantly shows that the chief supporters of the theory are those who, being in charge of mosques, do not wish to pay any taxes.

In the system I have sketched everything appears at first sight arbitrary, and Abu Yusuf himself significantly hints that in many cases the method of realizing the revenue is known to the tax-gatherer alone. But custom puts a limit upon tyranny, and a wise governor acts upon the maxim of the Emperor Tiberius, who told the Prefect of Egypt that he wished the sheep to be shorn and not skinned. Two principles, however, appear to me to underlie all the Muhammadan systems of revenue with which I am acquainted. The first is to tax necessities in preference to luxuries because such taxes are the most profitable to the State and the hardest to evade. The second is the enforcement of joint responsibility—a principle which is enforced not only in the case of the land revenue but also of every tax. A third rule—the exemption of true believers from taxation—did not in practice survive the first century of the Hegira. And the objects on which the revenue is expended have been usually twofold—the service of the army and the service of religion. Religion, as a rule, has got much the worst of it; and the mosques of Cairo have probably benefited as much as the fellahin by the new régime in Egypt.

JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

V. "ON FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE JAPANESE."

FROM the worship of ancestors, which has ever been the prevailing religious system—amounting to a creed with the Japanese—originated that carefulness for their dead, which was expressed in many very remarkable ceremonies. In most countries the methods resorted to by different nations for preserving the beloved remains of those who in life were closely associated, exhibit both thoughtfulness and individuality of feeling. As a contradiction to this remark comes into our minds the Persian idea of the Towers of Silence, on the summit of which the corpse was reduced within a few hours to a fleshless skeleton by the hungry inhabitants of the air, and where even that portion of the form was quickly and stealthily hurried out of sight through a dark perpendicular shaft into a well, so as not to pollute the mother earth around the charnel tower. During life every unmarried Japanese child is under the control of its parents, and no step could be taken without their sanction. It was the duty of a son to be present at the death-bed, and those who neglected this act of filial devotion, or who were even prevented from attending on this sad occasion, were burdened with remorse for the rest of their lives. This duty was imperative, and it was part of the education of every male child to be thoroughly instructed how to behave under the misfortune of losing a parent, and in all etiquette to be observed connected with the obsequies, according to rank, riches, title, age, and other particulars.

The period between death and burial was regulated to different lengths of time, and according to the circumstances of the death. There were curious laws that could be indulged in for concealing, for a time, the demise of the master of the house, if he held a high office. This was resorted to if any debts had been contracted which the family could not pay off at once. The master's death was concealed from publicity, in order that his salary might be drawn as usual, till a sufficient amount had been accumulated to wind up his affairs; also that the son might take up his position as head of his late father's household untrammelled by troubles of a pecuniary nature.

This concealment was termed *naybean*, and during this period the family life went on as usual. The law only sanctioned this proceeding till the creditors were paid up, and then the national or provincial prescribed customs were carried through without further delay. Before the living were resigned to part with the dying relative there was a custom of calling loudly to the departing spirit, on the supposition that unless it had already travelled too far on the unseen way to take heed, there remained a hope of reunion. Again, a mother on losing an infant of tender age would, ere giving it up to the grave, write upon the palm of the little hand the ideograph of its beloved name, with the prayer that another infant might be raised to them to bear the desired term of endearment.

As a rule, the funeral ceremonies were as follows: The first sign of mourning observed in the household was made evident by everything being turned upside down, and wearing apparel inside out. Then the female members of the family absented themselves to mourn in secret, whilst minor duties devolved upon a priest, who took up his stand beside the corpse. Here, as in so many other Japanese instances, comes in the Egyptian custom of resigning obligations to the religious members of the community. While the women retired to weep in concealment friends performed certain sad offices, one of the party being installed at the entrance of the house as doorkeeper, to attend to callers, clad in ceremonial garb, peculiar to the occasion. When relations issued invitations to attend the funeral, even the offices of digging the grave and bearing the body thither were assigned to the family guardian, relative, or friend.

So long as the house contained the corpse it was considered impure; and no visitor was allowed to cross the threshold, only to offer condolences in person to the acting porter or gatekeeper.

Directly the soul left the body, the work of veneration was manifested by careful washing and dressing. The body was placed in a sitting position, with the head resting on the knees, in a box or tub-shaped coffin of pure white wood. This shell was then placed in an earthenware vessel of the same type, just large enough to allow the wooden box to fit tightly into it.

The grave was well lined with cement, in order to make it damp-proof, and every method that could be adopted for preserving the remains of the deceased was put into force. The body was clad in white, in the dress of a pilgrim; and upon this white garment the priest generally wrote some sacred or mystic ideograph of his own selection. Before the coffin was finally sealed up, a wallet was placed round the neck of the dead containing three *rin*, or copper pieces of money. These three *rin* were provided to pay for the transport across the River of the Three Roads, for there is a belief that an old woman waits for the toll of these coins—if she is not paid, she deprives the dead of their grave clothes and hangs them up on trees out of their reach. A ball of crystal, emblematic of space, into which the soul is ushered, often accompanied the dead to their resting-place. Some outward and visible proof of a wife's devotion to her husband that she never dared to express during life found expression at this crisis. Lafcardio Hearne tells us how women who wished to remain faithful to the memory of their spouse would sever their beautiful tresses—a Japanese lady's greatest personal adornment—and lay them across the knees of their beloved dead, in token that depriving themselves of their highest personal charm, they would never accept the love of another husband. Flowers were freely used at funerals, sometimes in single specimens, sometimes made up into symbolic arrangements.

The funeral procession of those in high life was composed of many mourners, and was arranged as follows: The cortège was headed by torch-bearers piloting priests, who carried sacred books, incense, and other religious paraphernalia. Then followed servants with lighted lanterns suspended on long bamboo poles, furnished with strips of white paper.

These papers were inscribed with sacred sentences. The coffin was raised upon a bier, enshrined within another chest, or casket, the lid of which was dome-shaped. This was made of compressed paper, somewhat resembling the substance known as papier maché. A garland of sacred flowers was suspended over the dead from a long pliant pole of *taki* or bamboo. Immediately behind the coffin walked the nearest friends of the deceased, forming a special bodyguard over the relations. According to custom the male relatives preceded the ladies, who took part in the procession, surrounded by female friends and servants, not following on foot, but in covered palanquins, called *nori mono*.

Wending their way slowly to the *hakaba*, or cemetery, they there were received by other priests, whose duty it was to conduct the last sad office of placing the body to rest in the grave. While the service was in progress, and the remains lowered, music of a solemn and peculiarly weird nature was rendered by means of striking copper basins, called *kōrō* or *dōrō*, with bamboo sticks. Before leaving the cemetery all present entered their names in a room, answering somewhat to our vestry, set apart in the temple for the convenience of the mourners to report themselves. The nearest relative returned thanks to all who had attended and discharged their respectful and filial duties to the deceased. The slips of white paper bearing the names of each mourner were carefully collected, a list was made, and bound securely together. On this occasion the writing began from the left-hand corner of the page, contrary to the usual form of caligraphy. Incense was burned before the family shrine, as well as by the graves, and during this burning no notice was taken of the priests, or reverence shown them.

Everything used at this ceremony was white—white coffins, white garments for the dead and the mourners, white flowers, and white robes for the priests. The headgear of the women was of white floss silk, and the men carried swords muffled in white cloth. If the body was to be cremated it was the brother of the deceased who lighted the torch for the funeral pyre in order that no stranger's hand should participate in the work of veneration and duty. This elaborate code of etiquette referred only to the upper classes; simpler rules were observed for those in humbler stations of life.

It is also recorded that anciently funerals were oftentimes conducted at night, and even secretly. Though the Japanese are very careful of their dead, yet is the thought of death and corruption of the body very repugnant to them, so that when a member of the household died the body was taken quietly away and interred under cover of the darkness. In high-class funerals, therefore, lanterns were indispensable, and the number was regulated according to the rank of the deceased. These lanterns were carried on poles, which were eventually arranged round the open grave while the service proceeded. The lights in them were left to exhaust their supplies of oil in the cemetery. This ancient custom explains the presence of lanterns that are carried in a similar way at funerals in open daylight. These accessories are large, and are, like all other things used, white and without ornamentation.

Though the Japanese have but little fear of death, the subject is rarely referred to, and on certain occasions the word *shi*, which also stands for other expressions, must never be uttered. People are never spoken of as dead, this would be contrary to their religious training, but they are spoken of as *o rusu*, absent, or as *okakure*, in hiding.

After death, if the person had distinguished himself, or had filled an important position, he received a new and posthumous name, by which he was henceforth remembered at the family shrine, particularly at the Festival of the New Year. But not only after death was a new name adopted; on the occasion of any special event in a man's life, this curious and somewhat perplexing custom was permitted to be put in force. In the earliest days of Japanese history it has been stated that a barbaric custom existed of burying alive the servants of princes with their dead masters; later, however, this practice was amended, and they were permitted to kill themselves at the grave before a certain number of persons. In either case this prescribed self-sacrifice was stipulated for at the time of hiring. But in the reign of the good Emperor *Suinin* these terrible customs were set aside. This monarch would not sanction such cruel obligations, and desired that some means might be substituted whereby representations should stand proxy for the living. It has been said that the origin of all pottery dates from the clay effigies then modelled and substituted for living men and horses. Earthy substances were moulded by the potter and then dried in the sunlight. These inventions caused the application of the art to be accepted later on, and very soon utensils of the plainest shapes, undecorated at first, were used by the inhabitants of the islands. These people afterwards discovered the means of embellishing their wares by the aid of chemical and metallic oxides, and since that time their pottery has reached its zenith of perfection, universally prized for its beauty and originality.

Nomi-no-Sukume was the inventor of the earthenware figures that were buried round nobles instead of their living retainers. In the reign of the Emperor *Suinin* B.C. 29 A.D. *Nomi-no-Sukume* of the province of *Idsumo* wrestled before his Emperor with *Tayema-no-Kehaye* of the province of *Yamato*, who was killed during the tustle. This was the origin of public exhibitions of wrestling (of which mention will be made hereafter), and this added to the fame of the potter. The same custom of burying slaves with their masters was also practised in the Philippine Islands. It was permitted for the same reason by the Egyptians, who considered it imperative that persons of rank should be escorted to the other world by those qualified to discharge any work required in a future state of existence. The worship of ancestors is also recognised in the Philippine Islands, and genius, as well as courage and example, found many admiring devotees. Old people about to die chose remarkable and conspicuous spots for their burial ground, chiefly places near the shore, or elevated sites on rocky ground, in order that fishermen and sailors should be reminded of their religious obligations.

A *hakaba* or Japanese cemetery presents a striking appearance. It is generally situated on a spot chosen for the beauty of its surroundings, as well as solitude. It is kept in good order by the priests, whose duty it is

to preserve neglected graves, and supply them with flowers, food for the dead, and other necessary appointments. Symbolic stone monuments or *hakas*, gray with moss and lichen, are everywhere conspicuous, interspersed as thickly as they can be with tall and slender strips of wood, used as tablets, on one side of which the priests inscribed an appropriate quotation in Sanscrit, and on the other the dead man's name, in whose honour they are placed, in Chinese characters. These lathes are called *Stobata*, and have always five notches cut out of their edges. The word *Toba* or *Stobata* is of Sanscrit origin, and is a corruption of *Stupe* or *Tope*. The stone monuments which mark the resting-place of men, are composed of five symbolic pieces: the ball on the top, the crescent, the pyramid, the sphere and the cube, typifying Ether, Air, Fire, Water, and Earth, while the notches on the *Toba* in front of the monument represent the five parts of the *Sekito* or tombstone. As soon as the *Haka* or monument is erected, a *Stobata* is thrust in behind the tomb; at the end of seven days another is contributed, and this must be repeated every seven days for the space of 49 days, and afterwards at longer intervals of a year, three years, and so on for the term of one hundred years, the act of reverence being carried on by succeeding generations. In course of time these tokens of tender remembrance become weather-stained, and need to be replaced.

Beside the style of monument mentioned, there are other patterns equally significant and symbolic; stones with many angles are set upon pedestals, scooped out to receive water, and to hold incense. The custom of providing food and drink for the dead is extremely ancient, the belief existing that their spirits partake of the moisture drawn up into the surrounding atmosphere. These tombstones are also provided with receptacles of bamboo for holding flowers.

The graves are placed as near as possible to each other, those of the priests are alone distinguished by larger and taller *stobata* or *haka*. A Japanese cemetery when stirred by the wind presents the appearance of undulating white waves, the fluttering of white love and prayer offerings resembling the restless foam of an incoming tide, on a field of white iris—the flower of victory.

The festival of *Bon matsuri* in honour of the dead, the market day whereon all things could alone be purchased for use at the festival, and the solemn *Bon odori* or dance that terminated this beautiful ceremony, have already been described. Suffice it to say that while perpetuating the worship of ancestors and the memory of their dead in the true spirit of the national creeds, the people of the Sun land leave nothing to be desired to establish their sincerity and devotion.

While on the subject of death and funerals, a few remarks may here be set down upon the light manner in which the Japanese regarded suicide, or death by self-destruction. Notwithstanding all that has been written concerning marriage as it existed in Japan, there is no disputing that these Orientals secured the love and devotion of their wives to a degree which is neither anticipated nor attempted in this country. The story of the gentle *Adzuma*, sung by Sir Edwin Arnold, is no exaggeration of the fidelity inspired by the heroes of the Far East. The brave knights of

medieval Japan have won some of the noblest wives that have ever lived. History recounts how many devoted women risked their lives for lover and lord, or died to accomplish some self-sacrificing intention. The distinction existing in most Oriental countries between man and woman, did not in any way obliterate the fidelity which was paramount in the heart of a true and unselfish wife. We have not as yet attained to a full or perfect understanding of this nation, with whom the last decade of this century has brought us into such friendly contact.

When two faithful hearts were passionately attached, it too often happened, that all hope of the marriage being abandoned through the intervention or refusal of parents or guardians, such devoted lovers, by mutual consent, decided to die together rather than disobey those in authority over them. Suicide for love is not unknown among Christians, but there is something which appeals directly to our sympathy, in the calm unflinching way which led these Eastern lovers to carry out their mournful resolution.

When the fatal hour arrived, they wrote farewell letters to those who had wrecked their lives, couched in language of filial piety and affection; apologizing for the possible grief their death might cause, and praying as a last request that union being impossible for them in life, they might be permitted to rest together in one grave. This request generally found favour, and although the corpses were borne separately to the place of interment, the coffins were prepared with sliding panels. These panels were removed from the inside of each coffin as the bodies were lowered into the grave. Suicide for love was not despised, quite otherwise, and those who for deeper love and respect to parents could give up all hope of earthly happiness, were held up as examples of dutifulness to be remembered henceforward with all due appreciation.

These voluntary deaths were accomplished with the aid of dirk or *kozuka*, a weapon allowed to be worn by all the *samurai*, or fighting men of Japan. Although the woman would sometimes perform the deed herself, she generally suffered her lover to release her by his own hands. If the pair desired a watery grave, they bound themselves together with a long white funeral scarf and leapt from some bridge in a lonely mountain pass, and thus put an end to their sorrowful and unsatisfied existence.

When a daughter was about to be married, it was the custom for her to leave her father's house on the evening before the wedding, and to be carried by relatives out of the home of her childhood as one dead. She was attired in the white garments of a dead person, and immediately after her departure the house was purified as though death had claimed her for his own. In point of fact the girl was from that moment considered dead to her home, and her own parents. Never again might she seek their counsel, or their protection, she was given away, cut off as a branch to be grafted and flourish in a new and distinct abode.*

* Books consulted: "Japan and the Japanese," Translations from the Dutch, Klaproth's "Japan," "Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan," "Lafcadio Hearne," etc.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Friday, May 27, 1898, a paper was read by Archibald Colquhoun, Esq., upon "The Railway Connections of India and China." The Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair. The following among others were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Henry Cunningham, K.C.I.E., Sir George Parker, Mr. P. M. Tait, Captain Rigby, Mr. Joseph Walton, M.P., Kumar Veir Udai Raghubansi, Moonshi Kashi Pershada, Mr. J. E. Champney, Mr. A. E. Spender, Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. T. J. Desai, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Mr. M. N. Thakur, Miss Webster, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Dr. P. J. Mehta, Mr. W. E. Neale, General Downes, Mr. Lesley C. Probyn, Mr. G. A. Goodwyn, Lieut.-Col. E. Presgrave, I.S.C., Mr. Baynes, Rev. Dr. Badenoch, Mr. M. MacFie, Rev. Richard Wilson, Mr. A. G. Hubert, Mr. M. D. Vedant, Mr. T. Lees, Moulvie R. Ahmed, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, perhaps you will allow me, before the lecturer addresses you, to offer you a few remarks on Indian matters. No complaint can be made that the opportunities for discussing Indian subjects are insufficient. There is a rapidly growing volume of opinion in favour of dealing with Indian problems on strictly non-party lines. And looking at the problems which require solution, at their intricacy, at their delicacy, we shall require all the wisdom at our disposal.

The attitude taken up by the Government in its despatch to the Government of India, laying down the principles which are henceforth to guide our policy in relation to the tribes, commends itself to all parties, and will—if strictly adhered to—prevent fresh complications on the North-West Frontier. To those who have contributed to that result a first place must be assigned to the Chairman of our Council, Sir Lepel Griffin, whose vigorous pen has been wielded to such good purpose.

Much will depend on the ability and tact of the Political Officers appointed to deal with the tribes. It is not enough to lay down a policy. You must secure agents capable of carrying it out, and endowed with the gift of inspiring confidence. The personal element enters largely into our relations, and is the dominant factor in the preservation of order. I need not mention names in this assembly, because they at once occur to us of the men who were respected, and who were trusted, and therefore met with no opposition. I see no reason why in the future, as in the past, such men should not be forthcoming. No doubt the amount of administrative work is steadily growing; but of one thing I feel quite certain, that you cannot govern India by piling up reports. The most experienced administrators we have had considered it their first duty to be accessible to the people, and to exercise personal influence. And I cannot better illustrate this than by mentioning the title given to a collector in the Bombay Presi-

dency by the people of his district, that he was their Raja. To identify yourself in such a manner with the people that they entertain towards you the same feeling as they would entertain towards one of their own native chiefs is the highest compliment which can be paid to an official, and of infinitely greater value than a vast array of files. You have to administer, but you have also to govern. In governing you can only retain prestige, to which I attach very great importance, by showing that you fully understand the nature of the people whom you govern. We hear of prejudices, and we are apt to forget that prejudices are relative. What strikes us as a prejudice in the East because it is incompatible with our views stands on the same footing as our own prejudices when judged by Eastern standards. And it would be easy to point out that in Europe the strong prejudices of one nation are not understood by other nations. When the representatives of two different civilizations meet, their first duty is to take into account this differentiation. So long as such prejudices do not interfere with the discharge of your duty, they should be respected. You eliminate a disturbing factor, and you increase the strength of your administration, because the people know that you will not interfere with their prejudices, unless forced by higher considerations of policy. Therein lies the secret of your power. Obnoxious measures may be imperative, but a wise administrator will discover means for carrying them out with a minimum of friction, having satisfied the people that he does not *willingly* trample on their prejudices. There are other questions which concern India, and which Statesmen concerned with the welfare of India cannot overlook. The Pamirs treaty with Russia conferred a great boon on India. It showed it was possible to come to an agreement with our powerful neighbour. And the question arises whether it is not possible to come to an agreement with Russia on our respective spheres of expansion; whether we cannot continue to discharge our civilizing mission without coming into conflict—a conflict which must necessarily be accompanied with great evils, and delay the progress of civilization. The interests of India and the interests of our own country are identical. And we may well ask whether in this case also prejudices cannot be overcome by statesmen in both countries if they approach the great issues which are at stake in a courageous and unprovocative manner. Another problem which almost seems to baffle economists is the question of Indian currency. There again no party issues are involved, and the Government in appointing Sir Henry Fowler to preside over the committee have shown that they desire an impartial inquiry; and meanwhile we need not anticipate a verdict on which the prosperity of India depends in a large measure, because the development of trade and industries cannot be continuous without a stable currency.

The development of Indian trade and Indian industries and Indian agriculture must at all times be a chief concern of the Provincial Governments, and we can only deplore the fact that their means are so limited. Encouragement can be given in many ways to private effort by wise legislation, and by removing obstacles. In all countries technical education is now being organized, and we cannot in India neglect the exigencies of

international competition and the splendid openings which India gives us. Among the most recent and best works on India we may congratulate Sir Courtenay Ilbert on having given us an invaluable treatise on Indian law. It will be of the utmost use to Indian legislators and administrators. There still hangs over India the dark cloud of the plague. Only those who have had to grapple with it know what a dire calamity it is ; we are indebted to them for the energetic efforts with which they have unceasingly tried to conquer it ; and we can only assure them of our cordial wishes that they may succeed, and that means may be found of crushing it. Let me conclude by saying that we owe our best thanks to those who in the past year have read such interesting papers at our meetings, and by asking others to prepare papers for our next session.

I now have very great pleasure in calling on Mr. Colquhoun. I do not think Mr. Colquhoun needs any introduction. His knowledge of everything connected with the question which is now so prominently before the country, our relations with China, is well known to all of us, and therefore I shall simply ask him to address you.

Mr. COLQUHOUN then read his paper (see p. 35).

Mr. WALTON, M.P., said : I have listened with the greatest possible interest to the paper which Mr. Colquhoun has given to us to-day. When we have regard to the fact that the market of the Chinese Empire is the only great market in the world in which up to now we have had an equal right to trade with all nations outside the British Empire, that that great Empire contains probably over 300,000,000 of population, the question of British interests in China is surely the most important foreign question that we could as a nation have to consider. I am glad that Mr. Colquhoun is pressing the question upon the attention of the commercial classes and the general public throughout the country of the importance of joining our great Indian Empire with the Chinese Empire by a railway. Surely there is no railway project that could be advocated of so great importance as this, when you remember that at each end of that railway you have a great Empire containing 300,000,000 of population. I am well aware that this railway to connect the Indian Empire with the upper reaches of the Yangtze Kiang Valley has to traverse a very difficult country, but surely no engineering difficulties ought to be allowed to stand in the way of the construction of a line of such enormous advantage to this country. There is to my mind a grave danger of the French getting right ahead of us in regard to the tapping of the trade of Southern China. They have completed their railway system in Tonquin to the Chinese frontier. They have already obtained from the Chinese Government a concession authorising them to continue that railway in Chinese territory, in the direction of the upper reaches of the Yangtze Kiang ; and at the present moment I believe they have expeditions in Yunnan surveying and endeavouring to ascertain the most practical route for that railway to go. What I have tried in the House of Commons to press upon the present Government is the necessity that we should awaken to the fact of what the French Government is doing, in order that we may also secure access to the trade of South-West China from our Indian Empire. The French are

levying a heavy duty upon all British goods that are passed through Tonquin into Yunnan. They, as we read in the correspondence on Chinese affairs, violently protested against the opening of Nanning, on the West River, as a treaty port, thereby, it would appear, seeking to compel us to send our British goods over the Tonquin railways, and to have them subject to this tariff imposed upon them by the French Government. Not only did they do that, but quite recently we find that they also protested against England receiving the right from the Chinese Government to connect British Burma with the upper valley of the Yangtze Kiang by railway. And this despite the fact that in January, 1896, they concluded an agreement with England under which it was stipulated that we should enjoy equal rights and privileges in the Chinese provinces of Yunnan and Szechuen, and further that each Government engaged to use its influence and good offices for this purpose with the Chinese Government; and yet we find that notwithstanding this the French have opposed us in the way I have indicated. What I think ought to be pressed still further upon the present Government is the necessity of really pressing more strongly than they appear to have pressed hitherto for the right to construct this railway and other railways that appear desirable in British interests within the Chinese Empire, seeing that Russia, Germany, and France have already got practically all the concessions they have asked for for railway construction within that Empire. We are to have a deputation from the Associated Chambers of Commerce to Lord Salisbury on the 14th of June. I have been asked, as moving the resolution at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, to make one of that deputation. What we need is not to have one association only pressing these important questions upon the attention of the Government, but all the associations, such as your East India Association especially, also co-operating in putting the necessary pressure upon the Government to make them take action in the interests of British trade. I saw that the figures in regard to British trade with China submitted some little time ago by my friend Mr. Colquhoun had been called in question. It is not the question of what the British trade with China is to-day, but it is the possibilities of development of the future that we have to take into account. We know that our trade with the Indian Empire is only half a crown per head of the population per annum at present, but we also know that if we develop India as we ought to develop it by railway extension and otherwise, there is a possibility of increasing our trade enormously. So in the case of China we know that wherever Russia, France, or Germany acquires predominant control over any territory the wide world over British goods are excluded by protective tariffs; and although we are told that we have certain assurances from those Governments that our rights will not be interfered with, yet certainly we are hardly able to credit that that will be the case; and I believe that as they acquire influence, slowly, but surely, perhaps, when the proper time arrives those protective duties will be put on British goods entering those parts of the Chinese Empire where they have that predominant influence, to the permanent disadvantage of British trade. This question of British interests in China is not a party question. I believe

that Her Majesty's Government, if they were to pursue a strong, just, and wise policy strenuously and consistently, would have the support of a united nation at their back. (Hear, hear.) Either no protest should be made at all, or we should maintain the protest. If we are not prepared to maintain protests, then we ought to strive by friendly negotiation to hit upon some arrangement under which the interests of this country will suffer as little as possible. I am glad to be able to say these few words on this question, because I take the greatest interest in it, having travelled through British Burma right up to the Chinese frontier with the special purpose of gaining information as to the possibilities of commercial development, not only in British Burma, but by the connection of British Burma with China. There is no question at present so vitally affecting British trade interests in the future as this. We know that whereas thirty or forty years ago we had practical supremacy in the markets of the world, to-day foreign nations are able to manufacture for themselves what we used to supply them with, and by reason of this fact, and also by the erecting of protective tariffs against British goods, we are more than ever dependent, and will be in the future, upon the markets of the world, where we have an equal right to trade with all other nations. How just a policy it would be of Her Majesty's Government to demand an equal right to trade throughout the Chinese Empire, when we remember that throughout the whole world-wide British Empire we give to the trade of all nations equal rights with ourselves! I submit that that policy is not only a policy that is vitally important to the future prosperity of this country, but it is a just policy, a policy on which the Government would have the united support of the whole nation, if they determined to hold by it, and push it forward in every possible way. (Applause.)

SIR HENRY CUNNINGHAM: With regard to what Mr. Colquhoun has been saying about the Red River and Nanning, and the extreme importance of it, may I, as one who is interested in Eastern banks and the trade of Hongkong, say that I regard that as of immense importance, and that those who are better able to speak with authority on the subject than myself do regard this concession of the sphere of the Yangtze Kiang as being, I have heard it said, the greatest concession that has ever been made in the East to English commerce? How far that is endangered by the possible advance of Russia from the North I confess seems to me a somewhat remote speculation. Russia has a great deal on her hands in the North. It requires, of course, most anxious watching, and possibly more robust treatment than the subject has hitherto received. As to the South, and the importance of that trade going seaward, and going from the coast into the interior by the Yangtze Kiang, there is, I think, no doubt that an enormous sphere is open to British trade, and that the serious apprehensions which those who watch the course of English commerce naturally entertain may to some extent be alleviated by the prospect of opening the province. It is a matter which gentlemen like yourselves, who watch the statistics of trade, cannot observe without grave anxiety, that whereas year by year Germany and Belgium make enormous strides in proportion to the trade of the world at large, and whereas America is bounding for-

ward at a rate that is really almost inconceivable, as it would seem from the statistics of British trade, the exports year by year and month by month appear to be a dwindling quantity; and if you take the proportion of British trade and the proportions of other nations in the foreign commerce of the world, you will find a still more startling decline of the British compared with the large figure at which it stood some time ago. I entirely agree with the observations of Mr. Colquhoun as to the feelings that Mr. Chamberlain's speech inspired in all Englishmen, and in the sincere hope that these deputations which are approaching the Prime Minister may receive, as I have no doubt they will, considerate and respectful attention. (Applause.)

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: Gentlemen, I had no intention of speaking to-day at all, although I had persuaded my friend Mr. Colquhoun to give us this lecture, and am very pleased to give him one word of acknowledgment, not only for the pleasure but for the instruction which he has given to us. I am, nevertheless, glad to have an opportunity of responding as Chairman of this Association to an invitation of Mr. Walton to join in a deputation of Chambers of Commerce to Lord Salisbury next month on this exceedingly important question. I think that if he would allow the Secretary to that deputation to write a formal note to this Association, we should be very glad to give it our adherence, and support to any reasonable and temperate protest against neglect of or apathy on this question, which is all-important to-day. With regard to Mr. Colquhoun's most interesting paper, which of course on an occasion like this he only read in part, and thereby omitted a great many of the most interesting and important parts of it, I would only say from the papers which he has before written on the subject, and from observations in his paper to-day, it would seem that the railway communication from Upper Burma into Yunnan is not altogether the easy and profitable undertaking which it certainly seemed to me a few years ago. The more the question is looked at, the greater the difficulties seem to become. The utter change in the political situation has certainly made the attack on the trade of China more feasible from the seacoast, and from the mouth of the Yangtze Kiang than from the railway line from Burma into Yunnan. At the same time, that railway must eventually be made from Mandalay to the North—to the head waters of the Yangtze. That is obvious: whether in five or ten years is a matter of very little importance when we are dealing with the whole future trade of the world. It has to be made to meet lines which will be driven inward from the sea. As to the impertinence, the insolence of the claim of France to prevent our driving railways from Burma into the heart of China, supposing that the Chinese Government approve of such a step, I think it is really almost impossible for Englishmen to understand, or to listen to it with any tolerance. I do not think that Englishmen would permit any Government of theirs to listen for a moment to such a claim on the part of France. At any rate, if such an idea is entertained by any Government of either party, I trust that Englishmen are still men of such a nature as they were in the old days, and would very quickly undeceive them as to what is generally

thought in the country of such a pretension. No doubt France would like to exclude us not only from China, but from Africa, and any other part of the world where she could set up a hostile tariff against us ; but at the same time that claim is not one we are prepared to admit. And while we give equal rights to every other nation, we are certainly determined to maintain our own rights unimpaired.

Mr. WALTON : I should be very pleased to convey to the Secretary of the United Associations of the Chambers of Commerce the expression of feeling that we have just heard, and will take care that some communication is sent to the Secretary of the East India Association. One of the strong points that we wish to press upon the Government is the lines that are being pushed down South from the North of China, especially a line that I questioned the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon last Tuesday evening. It is reported that the French, Belgian, and German, and the Russo-Chinese Bank are negotiating a concession to connect Peking with the Upper valley of the Yangtze Kiang, that Foreign control over that line of railway is assured, and that the capital will be entirely found by those seeking the concession. I asked whether the Foreign control assured would be on the same lines as the Foreign control over the Trans-Manchurian railway. The reply was that the Government had no information up to the present in regard to the matter, but that they had telegraphed to Sir Claude Macdonald making inquiry on Tuesday morning last. I also asked whether that line of Railway coming down under those conditions would not be a violation of the arrangement recently entered into with China in regard to the provinces abutting on the Yangtze Kiang river. I hope that joint action will be taken by the East India Association and the Associated Chambers of Commerce, as well as the China Association, and other important bodies.

Mr. CONNELL : Some remarks which have fallen from the lips of Mr. Walton, and also from Sir Lepel Griffin, rather make me feel it a duty as a Member of the Council of this Association to enter my protest upon one point. I am all in favour of British Trade, and of British Railway enterprise, and of a robust British Policy. But when I hear that this deputation is going to propose to Lord Salisbury, among other things, that this railway should be made from Burma across this very difficult mountainous territory into Yunnan, I want to know whether that deputation is going to propose that the Indian Government should pay for that Railway, or guarantee the capital of the Railway, or whether British Merchants, and British Engineers, and British capitalists are independent and self-reliant enough to supply that capital, or that guarantee, and not, as they have done in the past when they want further facilities for British trade and British enterprise, to go to the Indian Government, and ask India, impoverished by famine and bad trade, and burdened with necessary, or unnecessary frontier military expenditure, and whether we, as an Association, are going to ask the Government to request that Country, and its Indian Exchequer, to pay for this difficult and costly Railway, or to guarantee the capital to be raised. I certainly, for one, would protest most warmly against that. It is British trade which is going to be encouraged. Mr. Walton spoke of a

railway connecting 300,000,000 of population in China, and 300,000,000 in India ; but if you go to the West of Burma there is a barrier between Burma and India, and that railway will not connect the 300,000,000 of population of China with the 300,000,000 of India directly, but it will connect the 300,000,000 of China with the whole British Empire trade and shipping.

Mr. MOULVIE RAFFIUDDIN AHMED thought the remarks recently made by Mr. Chamberlain were the key to the situation. After the Japanese War the partition of China was made between three European powers. That was the time for England to join the combination, or to make an alliance with Japan. If there were a war had this country any allies? Mr. Chamberlain had spoken of the United States, but they must remember there were many difficulties before Her Majesty's Government could adopt a vigorous action. Mr. Chamberlain had said that the different parts of the empire should unite, and it would be a good thing if that could be done, for the trade, not only of these islands, but the trade of India would be materially benefited. He entirely favoured the theory put forward by the lecturer that there should be a railway between Burma and China.

Mr. GOODWIN desired to say a few words as an Engineer who had travelled in the East, and been a good deal in China. He desired to impress upon them the extreme importance of fostering trade, especially manufacturing trade, with the Chinese Empire. It was a Country of vast resources, and could take all that they could possibly give them. The Chinese merchant was in his opinion a fine honourable man, and it was only the high class Officials who were unscrupulous. The Chinese merchants would not hesitate to find money for improvements if they felt that that money was properly invested. He would strongly urge that this Country should fight for its rights. They had all the coaling stations, and the time would not be found to occur again when the auspices would be so favourable.

Mr. BAINES thought it had not been clearly stated by Mr. Colquhoun in what direction the trade was to go, and on this subject he would like some information.

The CHAIRMAN : I only rise to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Colquhoun for this exceedingly interesting paper. Undoubtedly he speaks with great knowledge and experience on this subject. We are all very much indebted to him, especially at this time, when expert evidence is of such great value.

I can only say that this question of our relations, especially of India with China, is one I have not only for the last six months, but for several years considered as of paramount importance, and that I felt regret that so many other subjects were attracting the attention of the Government, which seemed to me of much less importance than this subject. I am led to make a general observation. The great evil—and I believe it is an evil to which Sir Lepel Griffin has on several occasions called attention—is that we have not what may be called an Asiatic Department in our Public Offices, which deals with questions, not only when, but before they

arise, and which would act as an Intelligence Department. You are well aware that all armies in Europe now have an Intelligence Department in which plans are prepared for any contingency which may arise. What we want above all things is that we should not be exposed to surprises. A Government is only really strong which is never surprised. (Hear, hear.) We had better take a leaf out of the book of Russia. What is the feature of Russian policy which is most striking? That Russian policy proceeds along direct lines. They know exactly where they are going, and they do not lose sight of their objective, which is by no means mysterious. If once you have a clear objective, and do not deviate from that objective, then you will be strong, and you will prevent other Powers—I lay great stress upon that—from crossing your path. What is wanted now is that the Government should lay down very clearly what is its objective. I have such confidence in the strength of this Country, and I am well aware, what is the opinion held abroad as to the strength of this Country, that I believe if once you have laid down “That is my objective” you will not meet many Foreign Cruisers across your course. But if you have no positive objective, if all foreign Countries know that you have not made up your mind where you are going, then arises a weakness which I consider a source of very great danger, because you will be forestalled.

With regard to the very important point mentioned by Mr. Connell, I quite agree with him that this is a question of Imperial Policy *par excellence*, and that where you have questions of Imperial Policy you must deal with them out of Imperial Funds; and that where there is a doubt whether an undertaking benefits India even remotely, but where undoubtedly it benefits the Empire—in such a case you must give India the full benefit of the doubt. (Hear, hear.) I should not be prepared to make India contribute to such undertakings; but if they are of vital importance, I cannot for a moment doubt, that where every day most speculative schemes are launched and attract capital, for schemes which really do affect British interests, the money will be forthcoming, if Government does not withhold its countenance. I beg to move a vote of thanks to Mr. Colquhoun. This was carried by acclamation.

MR. COLQUHOUN: With your permission I will occupy a few seconds in reply to several points which have been raised. First with regard to one point made by Mr. Walton to the effect that in considering the questions of our interests in China how imperfect that consideration must be if we only think of what the trade is to-day, I would beg you to bear in mind that when I recently raised this question, as I have done wherever possible, feeling that it was the duty of a man like myself who had knowledge of that part of the world to impart it to his Countrymen; and when my Figures were contested by men like Sir Robert Giffen what did he say? He said in effect: The Trade with China is not so important as you are told; it is not so many millions; it is so many millions less. It is not the trade done by the whole British Empire, by Canada, and Australasia, and South Africa, and all the different possessions abroad with that Country; it is only what passes from the Manchester warehouses through the Board of Trade Records in London. Can you conceive anything more petty,

more absurd, or a more narrow way of looking at British interests abroad? Mr. Walton has told you that the way to estimate our interests is not simply to look at what they have been in the past, or may be to-day, but at the magnificent future, the magnificent margin which exists in the market out there. As a proof I ask you to recollect what the master of the school of which men like Sir Robert Giffen are mere disciples, Cobden, said forty years ago in the House of Commons. He talked of the miserable trade of China, and he predicted that there would never be any expansion of that trade. It was a perfect impossibility. What are the facts? Between 1856 and 1896, that miserable trade, although that Country remained still absolutely unopened, expanded from under ten millions to over forty millions.

Regarding the question of the Railways from the North Mr. Walton has properly drawn your attention to the grave danger of those Railways that are being driven down South. When I was in Pekin last year I had occasion to know a great deal of what was going on. I was there when this so-called Belgian combination, which in reality was a French combination, engineered by the French Minister, and supported *à outrance* by the Russian Minister, almost succeeded, almost had secured the control of 20,000 miles of trunk Railways over the whole of the Chinese Empire. Fancy what that would mean! They almost had the thing signed, and it was stopped. It was stopped by a combination of three Ministers going to the Chinese Government, and protesting in the very strongest terms possible—in effect saying “We will not permit this to be done.” And those three Ministers were, who? The English Minister, the German Minister, and the United States Minister, who automatically you may say closed in and acted together. That is the combination that we ought to have to-day. That must come about in the future. We have an object lesson there. Mr. Connell has raised the question about by whom the Railway is to be made, and so on, and Lord Reay has I think most admirably disposed of that. There can be no question in a case of this sort as to where the support is to come from. For years I have pressed this question upon the Country, and fifteen years ago when such a suggestion was received as the most absurd and impossible idea I came forward and said this ought to be built by the Mother Country; it ought to be an Imperial project. Of recent years our Home Government, who considered such a question as absolutely beyond all considerations, have come to this: that they are to-day building a railway of 650 miles to Uganda. Surely, in the name of common-sense, if this Country thinks it good business to build railways of that length to the breezy uplands of Uganda, it is worth the interests of this Country to connect two Empires numbering 650 millions of the human race. Mr. Connell spoke of Lord Salisbury. He is the one man in this Country who has persistently advocated this very line. He sanctioned the survey of this line 35 years ago, and again ten or fifteen years later pressed its being carried into execution; and not two years ago he returned to this old idea of his, and recommended this very line, to the Country—what he called the inside track, or the back way to China.

Mr. Baines asked as to where the trade was to go. Perhaps I did not

make it clear, as I intended to, that in the connection of two waterways like the Yangtze, with its three thousand miles of water, and the Irrawaddy, with its 12 or 15 miles, and in the connection of two Empires of 350 millions, and 300 millions of population, it really hardly seems to me a question to admit of deciding beforehand as to precisely the divide whence the trade will go one way or the other. This is what has been fatal to this project. The people in Shanghai have always been wishing to know that the trade would come down to Shanghai; the people on the Indian side have wished to know that it will all go down to India. That is not the way to regard an Imperial project of this sort. It must be looked at from a comprehensive point of view. We must look upon the water communication on one side, and this railway on the other as complementary, and I think we can with confidence hope that any connection of that sort must work out a favourable result for the trade of the Country.

As regards the question of Nanning and the South you all know that we have been assured more than once, especially by the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that under these so-called Concessions which we have received from China British ships can be taken everywhere, to the remotest recesses of China, as he called it, to every riverside village, hamlet, and station in that Empire. Is not this the time when we ought to apply that test to this other question of the West River? Should you not test it in this case at Nanning, which we demanded should be open as a treaty port? The French have used their influence so far as to make it impossible. Is it not on this waterway that the test should be applied, and I say also with force?

I beg in conclusion to ask you to join me in returning a very warm and cordial vote of thanks to Lord Reay for the very kind manner in which he has presided; and not only for the manner in which he has presided, but for the very exceedingly wise words he has addressed to us—words that ought to be weighed by every man who has the real interest of India and our possessions in the East at heart. (Applause.) The proceedings then terminated.

The annual meeting of the East India Association was held on Friday, May 27th, at the Westminster Town Hall. Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., was in the chair. The President of the Association, Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., was present and took part in the discussion and the routine work. Among others present were Sir George Parker, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. P. M. Tait, Kumar Veer, Udai Raghubansi and Munshi Kashi Pershada. Lord Reay proposed the election as a member of H. H. Sultan Aga Khan, K.C.S.I., and Sir Lepel Griffin proposed the election of Munshi Kashi Pershada. They were both unanimously elected. The report and accounts were adopted and passed. The President and the three retiring members of Council, Sir H. S. Cunningham, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Elliot, K.C.S.I., and Sir G. S. V. Fitzgerald, K.C.I.E., were unanimously re-elected.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

THE NATU BROTHERS.

It is with sincere pleasure that we hear by telegram from Bombay of the release of the Natu brothers. It will be remembered, in connexion with the recent disturbances in that Presidency, that these two gentlemen were detained by the police on suspicion of complicity in the riots. It cannot be denied that a good deal of superfluous severity has marked the conditions of their incarceration; for they have been confined in separate gaols and have not been permitted to see the members of their families. This, considering that they were merely imprisoned on suspicion, and had not been brought up for trial before a Court, is surely sufficiently drastic and crude, in view of the Act of Habeas Corpus, and we may hope, for the sake of our prestige in the Dependency, that such cases are not of frequent occurrence. The apparent injustice of the whole proceeding in the case of these gentlemen is shewn in the fact that now, after some months' detention in an Indian gaol, they are both released. One of these gentlemen has held high and responsible positions as an officer of the Government, having served as an Honorary Magistrate and Commissioner of the city of Poona. They are not of the riff-raff of Bombay, but gentlemen of position and influence. They belong to an ancient and well-known Hindú family who have always been known for their loyalty to our Crown and Government. As long ago as when the Mahratta dominions were acquired for the British from the Peshwa, the Natus rendered important aid to the Government of India, and later on their services have on repeated occasions received acknowledgment from eminent Indian statesmen. They have ever been attached subjects of the British, and have taken active honorary part in the public administration of the city in which they have resided. Clearly, if such men as these fall at any time under suspicion of disaffection to the Government, they should not too hastily be assumed to be guilty, their detention by the Department of Police should not take place without properly authenticated information, and they should be brought up for trial as speedily as possible. Instead of this, it appears that they have not even been informed as to the charges on which they have been imprisoned. We do not hesitate to say that under no well-ordered system of Government ought such a state of things to be possible, and that whoever the parties may be who are responsible for this most grave miscarriage of justice they ought to be placed on trial as a disgrace to the Administration. If such instances of mal-administration are possible in the case of gentlemen holding the high social position of the Natu brothers, who have the power of employing counsel and setting the law in motion, who shall say how much of crass injustice is done by the police in the case of persons of obscure position! We are glad to see that some of the Anglo-Indian newspapers have taken this matter warmly up, and that the wife of the elder of these gentlemen has sent home a Petition

to the House of Commons, asking that attention may be given to the case of her deeply-wronged husband. We are also glad to see that under the combined influence of Press and Petition, the Government of India has at length been led to see the error that has been perpetrated, and that on the 10th of May these gentlemen were set at liberty. We shall doubtless hear more of this case later on, and in the meantime we hope that the case will be remembered in future for the better conduct of those who are responsible for our national prestige in our foreign Dependencies.—B.

PANDIT KISSARI MOHAN GANGULI.

A petition has been presented to Mr. A. J. Balfour on behalf of Pandit Kissari Mohan Ganguli, the Sanskrit scholar and translator into English prose of the great Indian epic poem, the Mahābhārata, a work which absorbed all his energies for thirteen years. It is urged by the petitioners that the services rendered to the Empire by the translation can hardly be overrated, and that no measure of public recognition would be too great for labours so noble and patient as those of Pandit Kissari Mohan Ganguli. He has taken from the British Raj and from Western scholarship the shame of leaving untransferred to the language of the governing power a rich and wonderful mass of ancient poetry containing many veins and nuggets of the purest literary gold. He has reaped no reward for his labours, and now that old age has come upon him, and with it a serious diminution in his resources, Mr. Balfour is asked to recognise his merits and services by the grant of a pension from the Civil List. Among those who have signed the letter to the First Lord of the Treasury are the Earl of Northbrook, Lord Reay, Sir H. Monier-Williams, Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir George Birdwood, Sir Roper Lethbridge, Professor Rhys-Davids, Professor Cowell and Professor Neil.

SHA-SHI.

The disturbance which has recently taken place here is considered of very little importance. The town is a place of call for steamers and junks passing up and down the river Yang-tsze. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), "The trade, residence, industries, and manufactures of Japanese subjects are under the same conditions and with the same privileges and facilities as exist at the present open cities, towns and ports of China." The rights, thus acquired by the Japanese, accrued by the "most favoured nation" clause, to the subjects of other powers having treaties with China. The port, by decree dated September 26, 1896, was declared open, and was actually opened on October 1, 1896. The customs and business commenced at once, without any disturbance. The native population is estimated at about 70,000, with a considerable floating population. Their houses stretch along the banks of the river to the extent of three to four miles. The people are rather turbulent in their habits, but the town may yet become very important to commerce on the great Yang-tsze Valley, whose surroundings are full of mineral wealth not yet touched.

THE FUTURE OF CHINA.

The Chinese papers say that by a new treaty Russia has acquired the right to make a railway from Petuna to Port Arthur. What land they require China concedes to them. They will work all mines in Manchuria without interference on the part of China. Ta-lien-wan is to be an open port; Russia will collect customs dues and duties. After collection Russia will pay them over to China. At Tientsin all traders desiring to visit Port Arthur must be provided with a permit by the Russian consul at Tientsin.

The plague is giving trouble at Canton, but the visitation is not so severe as it was last time; the sanitary authorities are preparing to take measures.

The anti-foot-binding movement looks hopeful in Hunan. Near Chengsha, the capital, it is really taking hold of the people. In one district only two villages refuse to join in it. A relative of Marquis Tzeng is prominent in this most necessary and highly philanthropic movement to free Chinese girls from the torture of foot-binding.

The sale of books published by the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge, Christian and General, in China goes forward rapidly. The demand for our books is incessant and always increasing; the tone at the meeting of the Society for the Diffusion of Knowledge is highly cheering. Poor China! she suffers from her former folly, but she is waking from her long sleep. In the future history of mankind, the steady industry of the people and their immense numbers will occasion their occupying a position of unquestionable importance.

The abandonment of opium-smoking is now a matter of discussion in journals. It is a tremendous evil, but its removal is not impossible. Like foot-binding, it will give way, but the abandonment of foot-binding is much easier to accomplish than that of opium-smoking. Christianity, however, will help China to rid herself of both.

Shanghai, May 16, 1898.

J. EDKINS.

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES.

The article "Canada and the United States—Past and Present—Loss by the Treaty of Independence,"* is a very interesting one, but it only intensifies the idea and satisfactorily proves the fact of the ignorance, stupidity, and self-sufficiency of the British Cabinet of George III., to whom was committed the care of the British Empire. It was only one of the many blunders which they committed, and to which must be attributed the loss to Great Britain, not only of the territory mentioned in the article, but of the whole present United States.

The southern boundary of Canada was further sheared of a great deal of territory from the absolute lack of geographical knowledge on the part of the Cabinet at the time. The boundary was to be a certain parallel of latitude, and the wiseacre, who decided the question, drew a line across the map, not knowing that he was running on a tangent of the arc, instead of the arc itself.

When we know that, in one case in later years, a Cabinet officer did not know whether British Guiana was a part of the mainland of South America or a West India island, the previous geographical botches were not astonish-

* See January, 1898, pp. 93-119.

ing. It seems to me that, when a man becomes a Cabinet officer, he should prepare himself by study for the business he is going to attend to. Unfortunately he is, and has been, often put in position by accident, and is as much out of place as if you set a blacksmith to mend a watch or amputate a leg.

And the situation, in regard to general ignorance of America, does not seem to be materially changed, for when the log of the *Mayflower* was being handed over to the representative of Mr. Bayard, the United States Ambassador, the Chancellor of the diocese of London asked if "New England" was a part of "Massachusetts," and the counsel representing Mr. Bayard and Mr. Lee, legal secretary to the Bishop of London, were neither of them able to answer the question. At this stage of the proceedings, a representative of the Associated Press came to the rescue by telling His Honour the Chancellor that "Massachusetts is a part of New England."

No one who appreciates the situation can now wonder that, after the patience with which the thirteen Colonies—an unlucky number for Great Britain—underwent insult after insult from the British Cabinet, the chain of loyalty, which was very strong at the time, should at last have broken, and the Colonies rushed into open rebellion. If they were sharp in their bargain for territory, one cannot blame them; but one feels disgusted that neither the interests of Canada, nor of those who had remained loyal, were considered important enough for the British Cabinet to take notice of.

R. A. SKUES,

Late 69th South Lincolnshire Regiment,
Civil and Mining Engineer,
U.S. Department Mineral Surveyor.

Pitkin Colo, Feb. 17th, 1898.

BIMETALLISM.

An esteemed correspondent from Colorado writes, in reference to the observation on "Bimetallism" in our "Summary of Events" in our October number (page 447):—"Of course, the gold Monometallic papers are misrepresenting the condition here as much as possible, but Bimetallism is a very 'lively corpse,' and, so far from having collapsed, is getting stronger and more lively than ever. India knows well the loss she has sustained by 'money peddlers.' Silver is the only thing which will give a return of prosperity, not only to it, but to the whole world. And if Great Britain does not heed the march of events, she may rue the day that a coterie of such financiers in London, who have systematically robbed India and every place they could for the last 25 years, have been allowed to keep silver down for the present. It cannot be kept down, and no legislation giving this country further into the hands of such financiers is possible in the present Congress; and when, in 1898, we elect a Lower House favourable to silver,—which we will do,—a Silver Bill, freeing silver from its present function as a commodity and making it presentable at the mint equally with gold, will go through, and no Presidential veto can or will stop it."

And in reference to Mr. Twigg's article in our April number (p. 236), the same correspondent writes : " I have read the admirable article of Mr. Twigg—viz., ' The Monetary Crisis in India.' ' Gold could not be used in India ' is a very significant remark, and he adds ' to any great extent,' which is superfluous, as any attempt to force gold on India will be futile, and result in fiasco, making the disaster now threatening India more apparent. Out here in the West, we seem to have no paper money except the silver certificate in various sums of \$5, \$10, \$20, etc., and they are sent here from the East by the money schemers in order that the East may not see them, and so they can tell the stereotyped reply about the 50 cent dollar. I have now in my pocket several silver dollars, some paper money (silver certificates), and a \$5 gold piece, for there is no such coin as a gold dollar current. It does not matter, when I go into town to purchase goods, whether I offer the \$5 gold piece, the \$5 silver certificate, or the 5 silver dollars, I get as big a \$5 worth for any of the three. They are trying dangerous experiments in India. They have overturned the village community without putting anything in its place. They are attempting to stop the natives ventilating their grievances by bridling the press, and now they are going to try to force gold on India where silver has been, and will still continue to be, the money for ages."

PROFESSOR E. B. COWELL, FIRST MEDALLIST OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

In commemoration of the Queen's Jubilee the Royal Asiatic Society resolved to give a gold medal every three years for the promotion of Oriental learning. Lord Reay, in the presence of eminent Orientalists, has presented Professor E. B. Cowell with the first medal. Lord Reay observed that Professor Cowell's conquests were of a more exalted nature than territorial conquests, both on account of their intrinsic value, and also on account of the means by which they had been obtained. Not only by his writings on both the Pali and the Persian languages, but also by his pupils, he had bequeathed to the world a phalanx of young Orientalists. We congratulate Professor Cowell on his well-merited honour.

SPAIN AND THE PHILIPPINE INSURGENTS.

My statement of Spain endeavouring to buy up the insurgents in the Philippines, as noted in your last issue (page 426), is quite correct. The amount lodged for distribution among the leaders of the insurgents in the Banks of Hongkong was 400,000 dollars, but as some of them were not satisfied with the mode of distribution, they raised an action at law to restrain the Banks from handing over the money to their chief, until an arrangement had been agreed upon as to the respective share of each. Of course the action of America has resuscitated the rebellion, and the insurgents, with the assistance of this dowry, and with arms and ammunition from the Americans, and the destruction of the Spanish fleet and forts, are likely to succeed in their object.

HONGKONG.

MODERN PERSIAN COLLOQUIAL GRAMMAR.

There is much that is worthy of commendation in the "Modern Persian Colloquial Grammar," by Dr. Fritz Rosen, lately published by Luzac and Co., and I concur with M. Azim, who has noticed it in your pages,* in his appreciation of its usefulness to those beginners who wish to study the Persian of to-day rather than that of former and more classical times. But at the same time I do not quite agree with the author of the work in relying so much, as he does in his Preface, on the style of the late Shāh's diaries as authoritative on the point of what the language of modern Persia is, to the almost entire exclusion of that used in every-day life, as exemplified in vernacular plays, such as the *Vasir* of Lankurān. The three plays, *The Pleaders of the Court*, *The Bear that Knocked down the Robber*, and *Monsieur Jourdan and Mustā'ali Shāh*, published some years ago by Messrs. W. H. Allen and Co., contained idiomatic phrases, common at all events to Tabriz and the northern portions of Persia, which find no notice in the dialogues. For instance, it does not appear to me that the universal use of the particle *be* or *beh* before verbs in forming a kind of subjunctive mood is sufficiently insisted on, for it is not an uncommon thing to hear it prefixed to three or four verbs running in the same sentence. Take by way of example the query: "Does he wish to go and tell him to come here?" which should be rendered: *Mikhāhad beravad begūyad be-āyad injā?* Again, although the phrase *Gum shav*, "Be off!" (literally, "Make yourself scarce!"), is in one of the dialogues, the equally common one: *Pā shav*, "Get out" (literally, "Get on your feet"), does not occur. Once more, the curious manner of inverting the words of a sentence in such a sentence as "What will you do?" (*Mikhāhid chah mikunid?*), as if it were "Do you wish what you will do?" has not been exemplified, although it is very common in the plays, and their language must surely be colloquial enough. The use of the negative particle *ma* with the imperative mood of verbs is said at p. 42 to be almost obsolete; it is not so obsolete, however, as not to require mention in the dialogue examples. On turning over the pages of the plays, the first negative instance of the negative imperative I come upon is *Dilam-rā khūn makun*, "Do not make my heart bleed."

On the whole, however, with the exception of the numerous misprints in the text, which show considerable carelessness in correction of proofs, the dialogues are clear and good, and will convey a very correct idea to the beginner of the correct modern idioms of the language.

The grammatical portion of the work, with the exception of the omission of any notice of syntax and prosody, some knowledge of which is requisite even for beginners, is a great improvement on that of any grammars I have come across, as the rules are well and simply explained. The book fills a blank that has been long void in the early study of Persian, and deserves success.

7th May, 1898.

A. ROGERS.

* *Vide* April, 1898, p. 439.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON.

1. *The Coptic Version of the New Testament in the Northern Dialect.*

This enterprising firm has done well to publish the work embodied in these handsome volumes. They contain the four Gospels—the first volume includes the first two Gospels, and the other the remaining two; and each volume contains nearly six hundred pages of letter-press. Of the workmanship of these volumes, from the part of the collator to the part of the binder, it is impossible to speak too highly.

The industry exhibited in the work, as regards the share in it of collator and editor, is beyond all praise. We have, first of all, a well-written Preface, setting forth the nature of the undertaking and the method of its inception; then there is a lengthy and very elaborate Introduction; and then follows the Text and the Translation on alternate pages—the Coptic being on the one page, and the English rendering of that portion on the page opposite, the whole being thus before the eye of the reader at one glance. At the foot of each page are very learned Notes, and these occupy (taking one page with another) about one half of each page the work through. In these Notes the well-known MSS. of the original New Testament are referred to according to their recognised designations, among Biblical scholars—A, B, \aleph , Cod. Sin., etc., etc., and wherever the sense of a passage requires it the *ipsissima verba* of the MSS. are cited. To the scholar these Notes are invaluable, and from a critical point of view are the most important portion of the work. They supply the material by which the student is put at once in a position to appraise for himself the historical value of the readings adopted in the Text.

The English translation here given is not intended as a rival of any of the translations in use among English people; it is intended, rather, as a rendering, as literal as may be, of the Coptic: thus, in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. vi. 11) we have the rendering "Give us our bread of to-morrow to-day." The rendering "Bring us not into temptation, but save us from the evil" points, unfortunately, in the wrong direction. The clause $\rho\delta\upsilon\alpha\iota \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon$ has no reference either to the general principle of "evil," or to any particular "evil" to which the suppliant may be tempted: $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa \tau\omicron\upsilon \pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\omicron\upsilon$ always has reference (when used with $\rho\delta\upsilon\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ as the verb) to deliverance from a state or condition, or from some inanimate or irrational object (such as a trap, a disease, or some rapacious animal); but when in such a sentence $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron$ takes the place of $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$, the word $\pi\omicron\nu\eta\rho\omicron\varsigma$ always has reference to some "rational" being. It follows that in the clause to which we are now alluding the phrase "the evil" misses the point, and does not bring out the fact which the Greek original so manifestly teaches: the only true rendering of the Greek of the passage is "deliver us from the evil one" (the word "one" being not printed with the italic letters, as is done by the authors of the Westminster

Revision). A careful reference to any good Greek lexicon will be found to sustain our remark ; and the rendering thus advocated ought to be adopted in every translation of the Scriptures into whatsoever language it may be made.

There is no Index to the work ; none, indeed, was needed : but there is a good list of "Addenda et Corrigenda" at the end of each volume.—B.

CONSTABLE AND CO. ; WESTMINSTER.

2. *The Prema-Sāgara*, translated into English by FREDERIC PINCOTT, M.R.A.S. This is a translation of the late Professor Eastwick's edition of the text of the *Prema-Sāgara* as published by Lallū Lāl in the early years of the present century. Lallū Lāl's rendering of the work from the original Sanskrit into Bhāshā is far-and-away the best ever produced. That rendering has been several times edited by various Hindū pundits, and printed at native presses in Banāras and elsewhere. Professor Eastwick published a translation of his own recension of the text of Lallū Lāl ; but his translation contained many serious defects, and was carried out or what Mr. Pincott believed to be the wrong lines ; and inasmuch as it was for a long time out of print, and there still was a demand for an English rendering of the *Prema-Sāgara*, Mr. Pincott prepared the present translation, in which he has got rid of the defects of Eastwick's work, and has rendered for the reader a better guide as to the nature and style of the work of the great Vyāsa, the author of the original work. The purpose of Mr. Pincott was to prepare a translation that should be as literal a rendering of the text of Eastwick as the English language might admit of.

The *Prema-Sāgara* is a work that gives the reader a good insight into one, at all events, of the aspects of modern Hinduism—Kṛishṇa, the hero of it, being one of the two deities (Rām is the other) most cherished by the Hindūs of Upper India, where the language so beautifully written by Lallū Lāl is the mother-tongue of the people. On page 6 of his Preface Mr. Pincott makes a mistake which it is not easy to account for. He tells us that the *Prema-Sāgara* is the celebrated "Bhagavad Gītā." How a gentleman who has read a fair amount of Hindū and Sanskrit literature could have fallen into such an error passes comprehension. The best of us are liable to err ! Mr. Pincott evidently confounded two similar word-forms. The *Prema-Sāgara* is, in fact, the tenth chapter of the "Bhāgavat Purāṇa," better known among Hindūs as the "*Sukha-Sāgara*"—as truly a work of genius as is the "*Paradise Lost*" of Milton.

The resemblance so clearly traceable between the story of Kṛishṇa and the story of Christ has often led people to infer that there must have been plagiarism somewhere : the resemblance is so close as to preclude the idea of mere coincidence. It is a question of historical fact rather than of religious controversy ; and it resolves itself into a question of the age of documents. If it can be shown that the story of Christ was published subsequently to the story of Kṛishṇa, then the *onus probandi* rests with the believer in the Bible ; but if it can be shown that the story of Christ was *prior* to the story of Kṛishṇa, then the *onus* rests with the Hindū. Now, it has been ascertained by various European students of Hindū literature

that the story of Kṛishṇa as related in the Bhāgavat Purāṇa dates not earlier than the ninth century of the Christian æra. It follows that the imputation of "copying" does not lie against the compilers of the Gospels.

The work is very well printed, and it contains throughout very valuable, learned, and helpful footnotes. Mr. Pincott makes many necessary corrections of Eastwick's mistakes, especially in respect of proper names; and altogether the student of the Prema-Sāgara ("Prem-Sāgar") is to be congratulated upon having a really trustworthy translation of this interesting introduction to the more popular form of the Hindū faith.—B.

WM. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

3. *Side-Lights on Siberia*, by JAMES YOUNG SIMPSON, M.A., B.Sc. The author with a judicious, observant and felicitous pen brushes away many prejudices with regard to the vast region of Siberia, its exiles, and capabilities. A great portion is as yet unexplored, and forms a territory forty-four times the area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with mineral wealth, gold, iron and coal, yet undeveloped. The Trans-Siberian Railway, projected by Russia, along a route to Vladivostock, to Port Arthur in China, for more than 4,000 miles, will tend to open up the whole of this region; and from its exiles, and settlers, will yet, it would appear, produce to Russia a country equal in wealth and industry to what Botany Bay and Van Diemen's Land have done to Australasia and to England. Convict labour, prison settlements, and the condition of voluntary settlers, with the lakes equal to seas, and great rivers are also minutely described. Tomsk, the present capital of Siberia, its educational seminaries and university, are examined and criticized, with many illustrations of post-horses, post-houses, villages and towns, and the various and humorous ways of drivers, and inhabitants of all classes, from the political exile to the humble peasant. As the population under the dominion of Russia is by a great majority composed of the peasant class, what is required is, in the opinion of Mr. Simpson, education both of that and of the middle classes. He sums up as the result of his personal investigations (1) that the condition of political exiles is not so bad as has been promulgated; (2) that the terrorist and revolutionary parties in Russia are beginning to see the foolishness of their younger days; and (3) that their social condition and happiness are better in Siberia than at home. This instructive volume is accompanied with an excellent glossary, index, and map.

FISHER UNWIN: LONDON.

4. *A Literary History of India*, by R. W. FRASER, LL.B. In a handsome volume of some 450 pages, commencing with a well-written Preface, Mr. Fraser puts forth a unique work on the religious and intellectual development of India. Though many works have been published which touch more or less on the subject—works a long list of which is supplied for the benefit of students at the end of the volume—yet never till now has the subject been dealt with so specifically and so comprehensively as in the work now before us. A man who writes a work on this subject must of necessity be dependent upon works already in existence, but though one

obtain material from the works of other men, he is not necessarily a plagiarist, and though he stand upon other men's shoulders and see further than they, he is not necessarily a dwarf. Mr. Fraser is a man of long experience, profound research, and proved ability. He is a man of wide reading, accurate learning, keen sympathetic insight, and an unusual degree of intellectual comprehensiveness.

It is not possible in the space available to us to put forth such a review of the work as its merits deserve; and indeed with the utmost scope we could not do it adequate justice. It deserves, and will doubtless obtain, a unique position in that fast-increasing literature which has been suggested and inspired by that land of weird mystery. Commencing with the hitherto unsolved problem of the precise origin of the Aryan races and of their geographical cradle, he traces through the early Vedic period the various steps which led to the eventual settlement of one branch of those races in the lands north of the Vindhya range. Mr. Fraser gives in due order the names of all the distinguished thinkers whom India has produced, states what literature owes to them, and traces with masterly hand the part they severally played in the formation of Indian methods of thought. His acquaintance with the contents of the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa, the Purāṇas, and the Gītā, together with the earlier products of Indian genius, puts him into a position to point out to us what in them is history and what is romance. The essential question of the rise and spread of Buddhism and of Jainism comes in for judicial treatment and skilful analysis. After the thousand years of the ascendancy of Buddhism, we are shewn the steps by which Brāhmaṇism regained its position and by which modern Hinduism was formed. Members of the Brahmo-Samāj deny that Brahmoism is one of the phases of Hinduism; but they have to explain the awkward fact that Rājā Rām Mohan Roy, the illustrious founder of Brahmoism, continued to the last moment of life a Brāhmaṇ. Mr. Fraser shews the part which the great Rājā took in founding that important movement, and does ample justice to the part taken in the development of it by his admirable successor Bābū Keshab Chandra Sen. In connexion with Buddhism Mr. Fraser discusses the never-ending problem of the Buddhistic connotation of the words "Ātman" and "Karma." In connexion with the nature and origin of the religion of the Sikhs we have an interesting account of Guru Nānak and the Ādi-Granth; while the parts played severally by Tamarlane ("Taimur-lang"), Akbar, and the followers of the Arabian prophet are calmly delineated in the spirit of the dispassionate historian.

We must, however, in simple justice add that while the style of writing is highly praiseworthy, the composition is in many places faulty and even ungrammatical: Mr. Fraser was evidently more concerned about his facts and his reasoning than about his form of expression. Moreover, he has usually in this work adopted the excellent plan of indicating the long vowels in Indian names,—an aid most important to his non-travelled readers; but this is carried out with such little regard to regularity that such readers will be continually bewildered as to which is the pronunciation they ought to follow. These, however, are blemishes which Mr. Fraser will

know how to deal with in later editions. And while we are on the fault-finding tack we may remark that we do not entirely admire the English spelling of

words in which our old friends च, छ, च्छ, and श

occur. Not one English reader in ten thousand will pronounce the form "Candra" correctly: every uninitiated one would pronounce the first syllable of this as he would pronounce the first syllable in the words "candy" and "candle," and thus would render himself a laughing-stock to every school-boy in India, and an enigma to every ploughman. We are quite aware that the *fiat* has gone forth of late from the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society that so it should be: but it is incorrect nevertheless; and the said *fiat* will be disregarded by all who are capable of forming an opinion of their own on such a subject. Mr. Fraser is too great for such self-convicted weaknesses.

We have noted a great deal more which we intended to say about this important contribution to the history of our great Dependency and its peoples. But we have already exceeded our allotted space. With one remark, therefore, we will close. Mr. Fraser speaks (p. 144) of "Asoka, the Constantine of Buddhism, whose life and deeds have, strange to say, found no place in the 'Rulers of India' series." It may be hoped that the task of providing so very important a desideratum will be entrusted by the enterprising publishers of that Series to Mr. Fraser himself, whose claim for competency for such a task is, as we believe, fairly established by the works that have already issued from his pen. B.

5. *Paul Kruger and His Times*, by F. REGINALD STATHAM. Mr. Statham cannot be congratulated very heartily on his recent contribution to the mass of books on African subjects. Anyone who takes up the volume in the hope of finding a careful study of a remarkable life will be disappointed, because the author can scarcely write a page without touching on current controversy. The work is polemical, not historical. The author traces the history of the Kruger family (whose ancestor came from Germany to Cape Town, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, in 1713), but little can be discovered of the President's ancestors except their names. The Krugers took a prominent part in the Great Trek, and Mr. Statham sketches with considerable ability the conditions under which Paul Kruger grew to manhood: the stern struggle against savages in a wild land, the life of physical activity tempered by ardent piety. But the greater portion of the volume is taken up with the history of the South African Republic, whose independence was acknowledged in the "Sand River Convention" of 1852. Unfortunately the history of this Republic is almost as full of contentious matter as the history of Ireland. The early years of republican life were marred by several civil wars, in which Paul Kruger took a prominent part. At last a fairly coherent state was built up beyond the Vaal. Of these years (reaching roughly from 1850 to 1880) Mr. Statham has much to say. He treats Dr. Theal's works as his chief authority, but when Dr. Theal chronicles any fact not altogether creditable

to the Boers, Mr. Statham omits to reproduce it. It is, of course, impossible to write a life of President Kruger without devoting much space to the Annexation of 1877 and the subsequent war. But Mr. Statham's history is capriciously eclectic: he chronicles the battles of Laing's Nek and Majuba, while he ignores the defence of Pretoria, and is silent about the treachery by which Commandant Cronje induced the surrender of the British garrison of Potchefstroom. The policy of Sir Bartle Frere is misrepresented, and a perfectly absurd parallel is drawn between Sir Theophilus Shepstone and Dr. Jameson. On the other hand, Mr. Statham presents the case of the Pretoria Government against the Uitlanders and their friends with considerable skill, and thus the latter part of the book may be recommended to those who wish to hear the other side. "An Apology for the Transvaal" would be, we think, a more fitting title to the work.

GRANT RICHARDS; LONDON.

6. *Versions from Háfiz: an Essay in Persian Metre*, by WALTER LEAF. This is an endeavour to convey to English readers the thoughts of Háfiz in twenty-eight of his Ghazals translated in the metres of the original, a most difficult task, and one foredoomed to a certain extent to failure, for it is only by transposing words to positions differing from those they hold in the Persian, by occasionally omitting portions altogether, and even by mistranslating others, that the translator has to some extent come near his ideal. It is on the whole a fair attempt to accomplish a difficult, to our ideas even an impossible, task, and as such is one to be commended. It would be out of the question to criticise in a short article the performance in twenty-eight odes, and we must therefore content ourselves with examining a few of them at random. Let us take the first to hand. No. I., which from its general style and other considerations that will readily occur to those who read it in the original, we concur with Rosenzweig and others in not reckoning among the Ghazals.

In the first place the metre placed at the head of the translation does not correspond with that of each line of the song, as, for instance, with the fifth, which would have to be transliterated with an extra and unwarranted syllable after the third word in each line to make it fit in.

Bār i hýāt(ā) kái khūri—Gār nā mādām(ā) māi khūnī.

In the second place *bijū* in the second line should be *bideh*. *Bijū* means "see," which could not be translated "fill," whereas *bideh* is "give," which is correct. *Tāsāh*, again, is the transliteration of the word that means fresh, and not *tāsa*. The last word, moreover, is not *ba-nū*, but *ba-ndo*.

In the third place the translation of the third couplet is:

"Sit, well-pleased, in a secluded spot:
Sound thy harp for an hour (or awhile),"

the latter line being entirely omitted in the translation before us.

The translator says that in the rendering of quantity he has been content to follow accent; that he has regarded stressed syllables as long, unstressed generally as short. Is this statement borne out by his constantly taking as long the unstressed "i," the sign of the genitive case? Take the very first

line of Ode IV., where the unaccentuated syllable connecting "*dil*" and *mārā* (the heart of us), which must be read short, as *dil-i-mārā* according to the quantities given at the head of the ode, has to be read *dil-i-mārā*. Take, again, line 3 of the same Ode, translated

"Ho, Sāki, pour the wine-flask dry; in Eden's bowers we ne'er shall find
Musalla's rosy bed, nor streams of Ruknābād's delightful lea."

What is rendered "wine-flask" is really "the remainder of the wine," corresponding with the Persian *Māi-i-bāki*, which, according to our translator's method of scanning should be *Māi-i-bāki*. Now the diphthong "*mai*" could never be short any more than the connecting "*i*," the sign of the genitive case (*i.e.*, the wine of the remainder) could be long.

The translator has thus clearly not carried into practice his theoretical method of rendering of quantity, and it is no apology to say, as he does at page 12 with regard to short syllables, that the whole matter reduces itself to a compromise, when right and wrong can only be decided by the ear in practice, and are not to be settled by rules in books. A short "*i*" in Persian can never be made long, nor can a diphthong ever be made short. whatever may be the position the syllables may occupy, or whatever stress a foreigner may consider he has a right to lay on them.

Putting the question of scanning on one side, and without going further into that of actual mistranslation, these versions are a nearer approach to Hāfiz's style than any other we have yet come across, and at all events there are not, that we have discovered, such palpable mistranslations as Miss Lowthian Bell's *sāit-i-hazārān* (the voice of the nightingales) as "a thousand voices," simply because *hazār* means a *thousand* as well as a *nightingale*.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON.

7. *Every-day Life in Turkey*, by MRS. W. M. RAMSAY. Many books have been written hitherto on Turkey by people who have travelled perhaps only a month or even less in that country. These narratives are consequently not exempt from errors and wrong impressions. Mrs. Ramsay's book, on the contrary, shows that she is thoroughly acquainted with the people and the life in Asia Minor. She not only understands, but also sympathises with those Turks, Armenians, and Greeks whom she describes so well. Moreover she lived on friendly terms with them, and managed very often to get useful information. Thus she proved to be a most valuable companion to her husband on his travels through Asia Minor in search of antiquities. She bravely shared with him all those hardships which are incurred in travelling on horseback in a country where good roads and hotels are unknown. In most cases they were dependent on the hospitality of the inhabitants, and where that failed they had to rough it, and take things as they came. They seemed, however, to think nothing of privations, being wholly wrapt up with the object of their journey, so much so, that in reading Mrs. Ramsay's book, one cannot but envy them for their enthusiasm.

It was but right that their researches should at last be crowned with success: for *they* were the fortunate travellers who, to speak with Ernst

Curtius, *discovered*, in the heart of Phrygia, the prototype of the lions which ornament the famous gateway of Mycenæ. But the culminating point of the book is the interesting discovery of Avircius Marcellus's tombstone, in a Turkish hammam (bath). Its well-preserved epitaph is dated as early as 200 A.D., being the earliest authentic document that alludes to the Virgin, thus giving evidence of the high position she held at that time in the early Christian Church. The saint's tombstone was subsequently presented to the Pope, for his jubilee, by the Sultan Abdul Hamid. Mr. Ramsay's object of discovery now occupies a place of honour in the Lateran Museum, amongst the early Christian antiquities. For further details of this interesting discovery, we must however refer to the book itself. Mrs. Ramsay's book is certainly one of the most interesting that has been written on Turkey.

L. M. R.

LIBRAIRIE DE FIRMIN-DIDOT ET CIE.: PARIS.

8. *La Route du Tchad du Loango au Chari*, by JEAN DYBOWSKI, and illustrated by Madame Paule Crampel and Messrs. E. Lœvy, Montader, Clement, and Bineteau. This work is a valuable addition to Colonial literature. It is beautifully printed with fine illustrations and a good map. Africa, that dark continent, of which so much has been said in these last decades, and of which so much more has still to be found out, offers a wide field for European investigation. The aim of Jean Dybowski's expedition was to join the expedition, Crampel having left a year before, and who had conceived the plan to go up the Congo and the Oubangui, to penetrate the regions near the Tchad, and finally to establish, if possible, a connecting link between the French possessions of the Congo and Algeria. Jean Dybowski's mission, moreover, was to establish French influence in those countries that divide the river Oubangui from that of Cesari. He was fairly well assisted by the French Government, but owing to unfortunate coincidences the expedition seems to have been left often without the necessaries of life and had to encounter all sorts of hardships and adventures. Although often meeting with hostile feelings amongst the natives, Jean Dybowski generally succeeded in making friends with them in the end, by offering and exchanging with them, white beads for their goods, consisting chiefly in various kinds of food. One may almost state that these "white beads" (*perles blanches*) gave invariably a free passport to the expedition and its chief, and that whenever these were presented to the various tribes of the Ouaddas and Takbas, etc., they gave up resistance and were delighted like children over their beads. Near Brazzaville, whilst Dybowski was organizing a fête amongst the natives, the sad news of the massacre of Crampel and his men reached him. Irresolute at first, he finally resolved to continue his way northward and to trace, if possible, the murderers and save the prestige of France. In spite of the remonstrances of those who were afraid that he should meet with the same fate as Crampel, owing to the hostility of the Soudanese Mussulmans, he courageously continued his way upwards. Near El Kouti the massacre had been perpetrated, and indeed one of the murderers was found and put to death; others made their escape when the expedition advanced; in fact most of

the villages had been abandoned from fear by the natives. Crampel's body, moreover, was found. He was buried with some of his men who shared in his ill-fate, near a rock, hitherto called by the French Pic Crampel. Very soon after this sad episode, the health of the courageous leader of the expedition gave way, and he had to give up his post before he could reach the Tchad.

LUZAC AND CO. : LONDON, 1898.

9. *A Manual of Sanskrit Phonetics*, by DR. C. C. UHLENBECK, Professor of Sanskrit, Amsterdam. This is a translation by the author of his Dutch "Handboek der Indische Klankleer" (Handbook of Indian Phonetics), with alterations and additions. It is a lucid, handy and comprehensive review of the subject, so arranged as to form an admirable text-book for the study of Aryan Comparative Philology. It is perhaps to be regretted that the author has omitted Lithuanian and Slavonic, and has made only scanty references to Iranic and Celtic. It may be, as he says, that these groups are not so generally studied as Greek, Teutonic and Latin, but they often (especially Lithuanian) supply forms which are of the greatest value for deciding difficult points of Aryan sound-lore. The only other objection that can be urged is that in some of the most obscure and knotty questions instead of stating the case fully, reference is made to the writings of other philologists, which may not always be accessible to the student. Grimm's and Verner's laws are assumed, not explained.* The work is thus more suited for a text-book to be used in a class or lecture-room, where the references and the points which are taken for granted rather than explained, can be orally supplied by the lecturer, than for private study. As a class-book nothing more excellent, or more thoroughly up to date, can be imagined.

JOHN BEAMES.

COMMITTEE OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND; LONDON, 1897.

10. *The Life of Saladin*, by BEHÂ-ED-DÎN (1137-1193 A.D.). This volume concludes the series of translations issued by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. The translation is edited and annotated by Sir Charles Wilson and Colonel Conder, and has been carefully compared with the original Arabic by the latter.

The author of this biography was born in 1145 A.D. at Mosul, and became a teacher in the Nizamiyah College at Baghdād. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca, he visited the Sultān Yūsuf (Salāh-ed-din), who was then besieging the Christians at Kaukab, and was appointed to be *Kādi-el-'Askar* (Kādi of the Army), and *hākim* (Magistrate) of Jerusalem, and served the Sultan, and his sons after him faithfully, until his death which occurred at the advanced age of ninety. The work is divided into two parts. Part I. describes in eight chapters his character, and Part II., consisting of 182 chapters, narrates the changes of fortune he experienced and gives the history of his conquests. Born in the citadel of Tekrit, in 1137, of which

* The comparatively recent discovery of the middle gutturals, and the recognition of the true position and relations of the palatals demand a fuller exposition than is here given, and the same may be said of the question as to the priority of the more varied vowel system of the European language groups over the simpler system of the Asiatic.

his father, 'Ayūb, was governor under the Seljūks, Salāh-ed-din appears to have been early attached to the principles of Islām, fond of hearing the Kurān read, and the recital of the traditions, and often whilst so engaged would burst into tears. The author, who constantly accompanied him, describes his zeal for the Holy War, his patience, his invincible courage, justice, moderation, and profuse generosity. Under his uncle, Asad-ed-din, he served in three campaigns in Egypt, the last one completing its conquest. On the death of this uncle, the chief authority devolved on himself, and after establishing his authority he organized an army to carry on the war with the Christians (this was the third Crusade) which occupied many of the latter years of his life and was attended with varying success, until 1187, when he defeated them with great slaughter near Tiberias and Jerusalem, and all the fortified places on the coast, except Tyre, were taken. Salāh-ed-din was eventually defeated by Richard Cœur-de-Lion in 1191 and two years later died at Damascus. During his reign and that of his brother El-'Adel, many of his bravest warriors and most trusted counsellors ruled in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Arabia. Illustrative plans and maps accompany the book.

J. M. NALLASWAMI PILLAI; MADRAS.

11. *Sivagnāna Bōtham of Meikāṇḍa-Dēva*. Translated, with notes and introduction, by J. M. NALLASWAMI PILLAI, B.A., B.L., District Munsiff. It is impossible to do more than announce the publication of this translation of the most important Tamil philosophical work known in the South. It contains a good deal of Tamil, and the supposed Sanskrit original of the fundamental principles of the system. The notes are exhaustive, but we rather think will be most valued by that reader who can compare the Tamil Text and Commentary with the learned author's own exposition. We acknowledge to having given some laborious, but pleasant, years to pondering this treatise and books connected with it. There are in it very great truths, mingled with equally great errors both philosophical and religious. If our Tamil friends can be content to view it as a contribution towards the study of philosophy, and can believe that all truth is really one, and is developed from age to age, and that every system must learn to throw off from time to time its worn-out garments, it will be well for them. The editor is angry with some recent writers who believe that the intercourse with the western world, which the Tamil people had from even before the first century of the Christian era, has influenced and materially modified their writings and systems. A tree is dead when it ceases to imbibe and absorb the influences of the soil and the atmosphere in which it flourishes. There is a subtle interpenetration of philosophical truths which makes every succeeding philosophy the child of all that has preceded it. Tamil philosophy has much to cast off, and much to recast; but its interest and importance can only be denied by the ignorant.

12. *Meykāṇḍa-Sāttiram*. The Text (with Commentary) of 15 treatises on the fundamental Doctrines of the Śaiva-Siddhānta System, edited by NĀGALINGA-MUTHALIYĀR OF KĀŪJI (Conjeevaram); pp. 864. We have

not space for even the names of all the treatises included in this bulky volume. In fact it contains, in somewhat difficult verse, the whole of the textbooks of the latest philosophy of the South Indian Āiṇva school; and to find anything analogous to it we shall have to go to the writings of the Schoolmen in the Middle Ages. The founder of the school, if we may so call it, was Meykaṇḁa-Dēvar, whose history, or rather legend, we should like to give. He is said to have derived his philosophy from the Sanskrit *Āgamas*, and to have reduced it to twelve great aphorisms, which are in fact the texts which all the writers in this volume expound. But, as far as we know, no Sanskrit originals have been published (or found) to anything but the aphorisms themselves,—which however are supposed in the legend to have been composed in Tamil! Concerning these *Āgamas* there is a profound mystery, in more ways than one. One of these works is the Āiṇva-piragāsam by the great Umāpathi, who is also the author of four or five of the very best of the series. He lived in the neighbourhood of Cithambaram, and belongs (as a date in his work shows) to the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The most notable matter, we think, in the whole system is the emphasis laid upon the absolute necessity for the reincarnation of Āiṇva in the person of the consummate GURU, or Divine Teacher. The necessity for a divinely-imparted gift of enlightening and sanctifying grace is insisted upon, in a very curious series of types, myths and legends. To an Englishman wishing to know what South India thinks and feels on the highest subjects, this work (and the ability to read it) is indispensable.

G. U. P.

THACKER, SPINK AND CO. ; CALCUTTA.

13. *Tagore Law Lectures, 1892. The Hindu Law of Endowments.* By the late PANDIT PRANNATH SARASWATI, M.A., B.L., Vakil, High Court, Calcutta. The belated appearance of this volume is explained by the lamented death of the author, and also of his brother, who first took up the work of editor. We may thus account for some omissions, such as the absence of reference in the notes to some recent decisions of importance to the practical lawyer. The scope of the lectures seems, however, confined to Hindu institutions, which are traced to their historical and religious origins, with much learning, often of a rare and antique kind, disclosing erudition in regard to the Sanskrit texts, and of course, an acquaintance with the judge-made law. What we miss most is the full and minute discussion of remedies and procedure, which takes up so much of works like those of Tudor or Lewin, for the obvious reason that our Courts of Equity have for centuries afforded redress against incompetent and fraudulent trustees of endowments. A long experience has shown that India benefits from the exercise of this jurisdiction, which the native world recognises as more valuable than ever, since the British Collectors have been relieved of their responsibility of superintending the estates and funds of Hindu temples and shrines. The learned lecturer would doubtless have met these remarks with the observations of Mr. Justice West in his philosophical judgment in *In re Kahandas Narrandas* (I. L. R. 5 Bom. 154), which surely ought to have been cited, that "while the Hindu law

insists as strongly as any on the suppression of fraud and the fulfilment of promises, it fails to furnish the detailed rules by which effect is to be given to its principles in cases of trust. It contemplates no such power and flexibility in the legal machinery as are an integral element of the English equity system." It must also be added that when these lectures were delivered, the doctrine, now settled by another Bombay decision, extending the purview of Section 539 of the Civil Procedure Code far beyond Sir Samuel Romilly's Act, was open to doubt. The result we think is that the deceased Pandit used his talents to better purpose in unfolding, with his own strong Hindu sentiment, the rules and practices of bygone Hindu times, and in collecting the curious texts relating thereto. He thus enables the present generation of Judges to understand the people to whom they dispense justice, yet with whom they are not enough in contact. Sir Henry Maine tells us that "when the Judges of the Sudder Courts were first set to administer native law, they appear to have felt as if they had got into fairy land, so strange and grotesque were the legal principles on which they were called to act. But after a while they became accustomed to the new region and began to behave themselves as if all were real and substantial." Much Brahminical ritual and not a little doctrine became the subject of decision. To minds of this cast, to lawyers who have to get to the bottom of the facts, and to the pious Hindu whose sentiment clings to the old order of things, these lectures will be both useful and entertaining. A busy pleader may object to the pages which discuss too seriously the decisions about property in a dedicated or consecrated bull; but the scholar will welcome those two lectures which take us up the stream of time to the Rig Veda. Whether a suttee burning herself with her dead husband's body has authority to give away his property is a question of law not likely, we would fain hope, to arise at this advanced period of the Kali Yug; but the comments of a learned and thoughtful Hindu on such a subject are not without value. The same must be said of the chapters dealing with the building of temples, the making of images, the digging of tanks and wells and the planting of trees. We are grateful to the author for expounding with much research the various rituals and ceremonies with which religious zeal long ago surrounded these common matters of to-day. The late Rao Saheb Mandlik is quoted as saying that as religion decayed, these liturgies deteriorated, yet the original principles live, avoiding noise and fashion. These lectures, as we have shown, go beyond the province of law, and have a value of their own, different in kind to a treatise on procedure or a digest of decisions. They throw many rays of light on things common enough but obscure to all but the learned; and we trust they will gain the esteem of Hindu readers, and help to enlighten the darkness which surrounds so many Anglo-Indians in matters of native life and sentiment.

VICTORIA INSTITUTE, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

14. *The History of Mānikka Vācagar, the Foe of the Buddhists.* This is the title of a pamphlet of some sixty pages, containing a paper read by Dr. G. U. Pope, of Balliol College, Oxford, before that Institute.

The paper itself is contained in about eighteen pages, and the remainder of the pamphlet is occupied with a discussion thereupon by those who were present and heard it read; this is followed by a lengthy appendix, containing very much that is valuable alike from a critical, historical, and religious point of view,—a remark which applies also to the numerous footnotes which accompany the Lecture throughout. For a great many years the contributions of Dr. Pope to the *Indian Antiquary* and other learned periodicals have familiarized all lovers of Oriental research with his profound learning and literary enthusiasm. Everything, therefore, which proceeds from his pen must be deserving of careful attention. In the present lecture he gives an elaborate account of the sage Māṇikyā : commencing with the sage's history prior to his "conversion" and with the events which led up to it, Dr. Pope proceeds to the narrative of the manner of that event, and then passes on to an account of the sage's doctrine and of his manner of life as a teacher. The work is well written, and is admirably calculated to assist missionaries and all who are desirous of thoroughly understanding the nature of Buddhism and the conflict of an earnest-minded Oriental in the investigation of its claims upon human acceptance. Of course, it is in its very nature a more or less religious work; but it is on the subject of religion that all Orientals are most interesting: all their literary productions are inspired with the religious spirit and gather round this as their prime centre; for the Oriental, and especially the Indian, is nothing if not religious. Apart, however, from this, the pamphlet is full of matter which will well repay the attention of the antiquary, the linguist, and the historian.

B.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following books which want of space prevents our noticing at greater length in the present number :
Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay for the making of Laws and Regulations, 1896, Vol. XXXIV. (Bombay, Government Press, 1897.)

Archæological Survey of India (new Imperial Series), Vol. XVI.; *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. VIII., by J. BURGESS. (Government Press, Bombay.) This is a quarto volume of 398 pages, and includes the Central, Northern and Southern Divisions, Sindh, Barodā, Mahi Kānthā, Kāthiawār, Kachh and Sāvāntvādi and Kolhāpur, with a valuable appendix, glossary, classified lists and a copious index.

Historical Atlas of the Chinese Empire, from the earliest times down to the present, giving the names of the chief towns and the metropolis of each of the chief dynasties, by E. L. OXENHAM, F.R.G.S. (John Murray, London, 1898.) This is the second edition published under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, giving the original Chinese maps with their English counterparts. It is magnificently got up, containing the preface of the first edition, and reflects great credit on the council of the Society, at whose expense this interesting and valuable work has been produced.

The Civil Code of Japan, translated by JOHN HARRINGTON GUBBINS,

Second Secretary and Japanese Secretary of H.B.M.'s Legation in Japan. (Tokio-Maruya and Co., Shanghai, Kelly and Walsh.) This useful work contains the Civil Code of Japan in Japanese and an English translation. The Code itself was passed by the Diet in March, 1896, and has just come into operation. We have also received from the same publishers *Japanese Code of Criminal Procedure*, which came into operation on the 1st November, 1890. This translation is by the author of Kelly and Walsh's *Hand-book of the Japanese Language*, etc., and will also be valuable to the English reader. *The Blind in China*, by Rev. W. CAMPBELL, F.R.G.S., of the English Presbyterian Mission, Formosa. *A Descriptive Study of a British Crown Colony in the Far East*, by JOHN DILL ROSS.

Daily Life during the Indian Mutiny, personal experiences of 1857, by J. W. SHEKER, C.S.I. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1898.) This volume contains the very interesting contributions made by the author to Colonel F. C. Maude's well-known work *Memories of the Mutiny*, and is now published by his permission. It contains also an appendix consisting of letters illustrative of the narrative by such eminent public servants as Sir James Outram, General Neill, General Havelock, Sir William Russell, Lord Sandhurst, the Nawab of Panda, Sir Austin Layard and Sir Henry Havelock-Allan. There is also a copy of the memorial tablet erected in the chapel of Haileybury College to the memory of those Indian civilians who perished in the Mutiny.

Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1898.) This work with an introduction is a translation from the originals, by the late Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, C.S.I., of the narratives of two natives--Mainodin Hassan Khan, and Munshi Jiwan Lal. These narratives will be read with interest in connection with the various histories by English authors on the same subject. The book also contains an appendix of the fate of Mr. Davis, and incidents connected with the movements of Captain Douglas. There is also a very copious index to names of places referred to, and an excellent plan of Delhi during the siege.

Through the Famine Districts of India, by F. H. MEREWETHER, Reuter's Special Famine Commissioner. (London: A. D. Innes and Co., 1898.) This important work will receive our special attention in our next issue, as well as the following: *The Indian Frontier War*, being an account of the Mohmund and Tirah expeditions, 1897, by LIONEL JAMES, Reuter's Special Correspondent, with illustrations, photographs, maps and plans. (London: W. Heinemann, 1898.)

Through Unknown Tibet, by M. S. WELLBY, Captain 18th Hussars, with illustrations. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.)

Pioneering in Formosa, recollections of adventures among Mandarins, Wreckers and head-hunting savages, by W. A. PICKERING, C.M.G., late protector of Chinese in the Straits Settlements, with an appendix on British policy and interests in China and the Far East, with 25 illustrations. (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1898.)

Islands of the Southern Seas--Hawaii, Samoa, New Zealand, Tasmania, Australia and Java, by MICHAEL MYERS SHOEMAKER, profusely illustrated. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.)

Studies in Brown Humanity, being scrawls and smudges in Sepia, White and Yellow, by HUGH CLIFFORD. (London: Grant Richards, 1898.)

Health in Africa, a medical handbook for European travellers and residents, by D. KERR CROSS, M.B., C.M., F.R.G.S., medical officer for British Central Africa Protectorate, with an introduction by Sir Harry Johnston, K.C.B., H.B.M.'s Commissioner for British Central Africa Protectorate, with numerous illustrations. (London: James Nisbet and Co.)

Fighting the Matabele, by J. CHALMERS, with illustrations. (London, Glasgow and Dublin: Blackie and Sons, Limited, 1898.)

Davis' Directory of Bulawayo and Handbook to Matabeleland, with map and township plan, 1898. This is a valuable handbook containing every information in regard to Lobengula and his concessions, the names and occupations of inhabitants, official lists, banks, railways, routes and various other particulars, and is accompanied by an excellent map of Rhodesia divided into provinces and districts under the administration of the British South Africa Company. (London: Cooper and Budd, The Peckham Press.)

A History of the Dominion of Canada, by JOHN B. CALKIN, M.A., Principal of the Normal School, Truro, N.S. (Halifax: A. and W. Mackinlay, 1898.) This is a concise history of the Dominion from the first settlements to the present time. It will form an admirable text-book.

The Growth and Administration of the British Colonies, 1837-1897, by Rev. WILLIAM PARR GRESWELL, M.A. (London, Glasgow, and Dublin: Blackie and Son, Limited.) This is also a concise and well written work, giving a short sketch of our colonial system, the pioneers of colonial progress and reform, and the growth of our colonies in America, Africa and Australasia. It has an appendix, giving an outline of the Canadian constitution and a very full and useful index.

An Arabic Vocabulary for Egypt, by F. E. ROBERTSON, C.I.E., President Egyptian Railway Board. The Arabic by Lûtfi Yûssef Ayrût, Secretary to the President Egyptian Railways. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co., 1898.)

Manuale e Glossario Indostano o Urdu, by CAMILLO TAGLIABUE, professor of Hindustani in the Royal Oriental Institute of Naples. (Rome: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1898.)

Di un giornale in Guarani e dello studio del Tupi nel Brasile, by CESARE POMA. (Turin: Tipografia Eredi Botta, 1897.)

Buddha, ein Culturbild des Ostens von Joseph Dahlmann, S. J. (Berlin: Verlag von Felix L. Dames, 1898.)

How to Fix Sterling Exchange: A Well-Tried, Safe and Economical Method, by A. M. LINDSAY, Fellow of the Bankers' Institute, London. (Calcutta and London: Thacker and Co.)

Letter to the Secretary of State for India on the Famine Policy in India, by JOHN MURDOCH, LL.D. (Madras: Christian Knowledge Society's Press, 1893.)

Letter to Samuel Smith, Esq., M.P., Member of the Parliamentary Indian Committee on Indian Reforms: A sequel to the above, by the same author and publisher.

India in 1897, by BEHRAMJI M. MALABARI. (Bombay: A. J. Cambridge and Co., 1898.)

The Indian Finance Difficulty: A Solution, by H. F. B. (London: Effingham Wilson, 1898.)

A Chronicle of Cricket amongst Parsees and the Struggle: Polo v. Cricket, by SHAPOORJEE SORABJEE. (Bombay: Ripon Printing Press Co., Ltd.)

Through Finland in Carts, by MRS. ALEC TWEEDIE. (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898.)

Proceedings of the Royal Institution of Great Britain, April, 1898. (London: Albemarle Street.)

Studies in Little-Known Subjects, by C. E. PLUMPTRE. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1898.)

Footsteps in Human Progress, Secular and Religious, a short series of letters to a friend, by JAMES SAMUELSON of the Middle Temple, Barrister at Law. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1898.)

David Hume, by HENRY CALDERWOOD; *Mungo Park*, by T. BANKS MACLACHLAN, Famous Scots Series. (London and Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier.)

Some Side-lights upon Edward Fitzgerald's Poem, "The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyām", being the substance of a Lecture delivered at the Grosvenor Crescent Club and Women's Institute on the 22nd March, 1898. (London: H. S. Nichols, Ltd., 1898.)

Annual Report of the Library Syndicate for 1897. (Cambridge: J. and C. F. Clay, University Press.)

The Proposed Separation of Judicial and Executive Duties in India: Congress Green-Books I. (London: The British Committee of the British National Congress, 1897.)

Told in the Coffee-House: Turkish Tales collected and done into English by CYRUS ADLER and ADAM RAMSAY. (New York and London: Macmillan, 1898.)

Church, Ministry, and Sacraments, by Rev. N. MACLEOD, D.D., Inverness. (London: A. and C. Black, 1898.)

Maps to Illustrate the Niger and Upper Nile Questions. (Edinburgh and London: W. and A. K. Johnston, 1898.) This is a well executed and distinct collection of maps, with letterpress stating the present position of the Nile and Niger questions.

New War-Map of Cuba, West Indies, etc. (London: G. W. Bacon and Co.) This map will be most useful in tracing the various movements of the armies and navies of Spain and America in the present struggle.

Spanish-American Special War-Map, Northern Atlantic, United States, Spain and Cuba, with inset maps of Havana and other chief ports. Another very clear and distinct map, which will also enable us to trace the various movements of the belligerents.

The Gordon Highlanders at Dargai. An excellent photogravure of Mr. Stanley Berkeley's spirited picture. (Hobbies, Limited, Paternoster Row, London.)

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental

Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*The American Weekly, Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing *Hebraica* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—the three last numbers of *The Navy and Army*, and the first numbers of *The Wide World*, and *The Ladies' Field*, and *The Citizen's Atlas*. The last Quarter's "SANSKRIT JOURNAL" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

We regret that owing to want of space we have been obliged at the last moment to withhold reviews of the following books:

Under the Dragon Flag, by JAMES ALLEN. *Indian Frontier Warfare*, by CAPTAIN G. I. YOUNGHUSBAND. *A Camp and Cantonment*, by E. F. CUTHELL. *The Temples and Shrines of Nikko, Japan*, by R. C. HOPE. *The Silence of God*, by ROBERT ANDERSON, LL.D. *A Journey through South Africa*, by ELLIS EDWARDS. *South Africa of To-day*, by CAPTAIN FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E. *Our Troubles in Poona and the Deccan*, and *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, by ARTHUR CRAWFORD, C.M.G. *The Early History of the Hebrews*, by REV. A. H. SAYCE. *From Jungle to Java*, by A. KEYSER. *Hausaland*, by REV. C. H. ROBINSON. *The Invasion of Egypt in A.D. 1249*, by REV. E. I. DAVIS. *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand*, by T. M. HOCKEN. *The Anti-Christian Crusade*, by R. P. C. COOFE. *The Nicetical Christ*, by S. H. PLAYFAIR. *The Law of Divorce Applicable to Christians in India; Twelve Indian Statesmen*, by G. SMITH, C.I.E. *The Story of Australia*, by FLORA L. SHAW. *The Story of India*, by D. C. BOULGER. *The Story of South Africa*, by BASIL WORSFOLD. *The Downfall of Prempeh*, by MAJOR R. S. BADEN-POWELL. *The Bible and Islâm*, by H. P. SMITH, D.D. *Pictures of Southern China*, by REV. I. MACGOWAN. *Chinese Characteristics*, by A. H. SMITH. *The Gist of Japan*, by REV. R. B. PEERY. *Japan and the Japan Mission* (Church Missionary Society). *A Modern Pilgrim in Jerusalem*, by J. ROOKER. *The Story of the Ionic Revolt; Selections*, by C. C. TANCOCK. *The Bible References of John Ruskin*, by M. and E. GIBBS. *Conditional Immortality: a series of letters*, by Prof. Sir G. C. STOKES. *The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*, by PROF. M. BURROWS. *The Gospel of Buddha*, by PAUL CARNS. *The English Angler in Florida*, by ROWLAND WARD, F.Z.S. *La Corée, indépendante, Russe ou Japonaise*, by R. V. DE LAGNERIE. *Egypt in the Nineteenth Century*, by D. A. CAMERON. *Indian Village Folk*, by T. B. PANDIAN. *Literary Year-Book 1898*, edited by JOSEPH JACOBS

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—After the termination of the campaign in Tirah, General Sir W. Lockhart left Peshawar early in April for England, amid great enthusiasm, the entire Afridi *jirgah* having assembled at the railway station to see him off.

General Sir Charles Nairne is officiating as Commander-in-Chief pending the assumption of the office by General Sir W. Lockhart.

At the end of March the Khaibar Rifles re-occupied the villages in the Pass, and a month afterwards the Zakka Khels accepted responsibility for its safety. Forts Maude and Ali Masjid, however, are to be held by the Khaibar Rifles.

The Government has sanctioned the re-opening of recruiting from the Orakzais and the Afridis.

The annual relief of the Chitral garrison was carried out without tribal disturbance.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Sir John Woodburn has been appointed Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, Sir A. Mackenzie having resigned owing to ill-health.

The direct expenditure on famine relief in all the provinces of India from November 1, 1896, to the end of September, 1897, was approximately Rs. 6,800,000. The average cost of one day's relief for each person was a little over one and a third anna.

The plague still continues to rage at Bombay and Karachi ; it also broke out at the end of April at Calcutta, when a panic ensued, and about 250,000 inhabitants left the city. The Lieut.-Governor gave an assurance that the plague rules to be enforced would not be so stringent as those in Bombay. Plague riots have occurred at Bhagal in Jalandar and at Garshander in Hoshiapur district.

It was resolved at a meeting held at Aligarh to raise ten lakhs of rupees for the endowment of a Muhammadan University as a memorial to the late Sayyad Ahmad.

A serious riot occurred at Multan in the Panjab between Muhammadans and Hindus on the last day of the Muharram festival, with the result that 36 persons were injured.

A great fire broke out in Peshawar on the 31st of May, which lasted 36 hours. Four thousand houses were destroyed, and the damage was estimated at four crores of rupees.

The Natu brothers were released in May on parole.

Parliament has authorized the Secretary of State for India to raise a loan of 16 millions sterling for the necessities of India.

NATIVE STATES.—The Nizam of Hyderabad has ordered the deportation of Moulvi Abdul Alim, the Second Taluqdar, for having instigated the *Mashum-i-Deccan* to publish scurrilous articles against his government.

H.H. the Maharaja Sir Bir Shamshir Jang, Rana Bahadur, K.C.S.I., former Minister and Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, has been invested G.C.S.I.

CEYLON.—Mr. G. F. Walker and Dr. W. G. Rockwood have been gazetted unofficial members of the Legislative Council.

BURMA.—The southern section of the frontier commission having been dispersed, Brigadier Lin went to Canton, and the British members to Bhamo. No work has been done by this section, matters being at a complete dead-lock.

The trade returns for the past year show the value of imports to be 1,261 lakhs, against 1,108 in 1896. The exports were 1,686 against 1,487 lakhs.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir has appointed Mir Atta Khan of Herat to succeed the late Sipah Salar, Ghulam Haidar Khan, as Commander-in-Chief, and has sent him to Asmar.

Some Afridi deputations, composed of Zakka Khel malcontents, started for Kabul in May last, but were stopped at Jalalabad by the Amir's orders and turned back.

It is calculated that the loss caused to the Amir by the closing of the Khaibar Pass during the late rising amounted to fourteen lakhs of rupees.

PERSIA.—Colonel Meade, the British Consul-General at Bushire, again proceeded to the Mekran coast in connection with the murder of Mr. Graves, the telegraph official, and Shah Mahmud the leader of the murderers was captured and publicly executed at Jask, in the presence of the Baluchi chiefs, and Malekind the real murderer was killed by the force sent in pursuit.

The Imperial Bank of Persia has obtained control over the Customs at the ports of Bandar Abbas, Lingah, Muhammarah and Bushire, also that of Kirmanshah.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The Sultan has ordained a public subscription to avert an impending famine at Mecca, and has rejected the advice of the International Sanitary Board to isolate Jeddah, fearing that, by such a step, Mecca would experience a failure of supplies.

The Russian Government has put pressure on the Grand Vizier, concerning the repatriation of 40,000 destitute Armenians living on charity in the Caucasus.

The situation in Yemen is extremely precarious. Troops have been despatched to reinforce the garrisons there. The new civil governor is blockaded in Sana.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—The construction of the Siberian Railway is being pushed on as fast as possible; large quantities of rails and locomotives have been ordered from America.

The military administration of Turkestan has been placed under General Dukhofskoi; this region includes the Semiretch or Seven River region on the frontiers of China, Transcaspia, Bukhara and Ferghana. The Amur region has been handed over to General Grodekoff.

A force of 300 Russian soldiers, encamped in the north-east of the province of Ferghana, was surprised by a body of 1,000 natives under Ishan Muhammad Ali Khalif, losing 20 killed and 18 wounded. The rebels were finally repulsed and their leader captured. The severest measures are being enforced to suppress any further movement among the natives.

PHILIPPINES.—In consequence of the outbreak of war between the United States of America and Spain, the fleet of the former attacked the Spanish fleet in the harbour of Manila on the 1st May and totally destroyed it. The insurgents under Aguinaldo have proclaimed a republic.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—On 19th April Mr. Cowie, who was alone, met Mat Salleh with 250 armed followers. The chief tendered his submission. The next day, Mr. Cowie with the Governor and a force from the gunboat "Swift" again met him, when he saluted the Company's flag and very satisfactory arrangements were completed. Mat Salleh afterwards repudiated his reported submission and defies the Government.

CHINA.—The Chinese Government handed over Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan to the Russians at the end of March, who have occupied both places in force.

The port of Wei-hai-wei has been leased to Great Britain as a coaling station. The Japanese, on being paid the balance of the war indemnity, handed the place over to the Chinese authorities on the 23rd May, and five days later it was formally transferred to Great Britain. The British Government has given, unasked, an assurance that, in occupying the place, it does not question Germany's rights in the province of Shan-tung.

The Government has agreed to the French demands, which comprise the non-alienation of any part of Kwang-Tung, Kwang-si, Yun-nan and Hai-nan, the construction of a railway to Yun-nan-fu, the lease of a coaling station and the appointment of a Frenchman as Director of the Imperial Post.

A concession has been granted to an Anglo-Italian syndicate for working the vast coal and iron deposits in four districts of the Shan-si province.

The Germans have obtained a fresh concession for a railway from I-chau-fu to the capital of Shan-tung, Tsi-nan-fu.

The Tsung-li-Yamên has opened to trade Fu-ning, on the Sam Sa inlet, Yo-chau at the head of the Gulf of Leao-tong and Chinwang on the Gulf of Leao-tong. A contract has been signed by Shêng Taotai and a British syndicate for a loan for the construction of a railway, connecting Nanking, Shanghai, Hang-chau and Ning-po. This has been confirmed by the Tsung-li-Yamên.

The Russo-Chinese Bank has signed a contract for the construction of a railway from Cheng-tung to Tai-yuen-fu.

The regulations for steam navigation of inland waters, drawn up by Sir R. Hart, have been approved by the Tsung-li-Yamên and sanctioned by an Imperial edict, but they have been so modified by the Tsung-li-Yamên as to infringe treaty rights, and Sir C. Macdonald has demanded that the infringements shall be rectified.

Japan has notified to the Government that settlements shall be granted for the exclusive use of her subjects at Fu-chau, Wu-sung, Sha-shi, Fu-ning, Yo-chau, and Ching-wan-Tas, and demands an indemnity of £15,000 for damage to Japanese property in the Sha-shi riots.

Sir C. Macdonald has concluded an agreement with the Government for an extension of the boundaries of Hong Kong, including Kowloon. The agreement signed on the 8th June concedes on lease to Great Britain

for 99 years an area of territory of 200 square miles, including Mirs Bay and Deep Bay.

The Government has signed a preliminary contract with the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank for the loan of 16,000,000 taels for the extension of the Shan-hai-wan railway north to Niu-chwang.

Prince Henry of Prussia has been received at Peking with unprecedented honours.

Secret societies are becoming numerous. The National Preservers' Society especially is growing powerful in all the provinces. It advocates Western learning and foreign methods.

JAPAN.—Negotiations have been concluded with Russia regarding a new convention respecting Korea.

Japan has taken over £2,000,000 of the new 4½ per cent. Chinese loan.

China has given an undertaking not to alienate the province of Fo-Kien, opposite the island of Formosa.

The Diet was opened on 19th May. The Government announced that its policy will be to assist the preservation of China's integrity. A Bill has been introduced providing for increased taxation to the amount of 35 million yen, the money to be devoted to the development of Formosa, and a speedy redemption of the public debt. Another Bill extends the franchise, increasing the number of voters from 400,000 to 2,000,000. The Civil Code has been proclaimed.

The Government will advance £180,000 to enable a Japanese syndicate to acquire and complete the railway between Seoul and Chemulpho.

KOREA.—The text of the new Russo-Japanese convention affirming the independence of Korea is published.

The Korean Government has decided to open three more ports, and to make Ping-yan an open market.

EGYPT.—The revenue for 1897 amounted to £11,092,000, being an increase upon the estimates of £433,000.

The terms of the sale of the Daira-Sanieh estates have been concluded for the sum of £6,431,500 sterling, the actual amount of the Daira debt.

SOUDAN.—The Dervishes' reserve depot at Shendy was captured on the 26th March by a gunboat expedition, the enemy losing 160 killed while 645 men and women were captured.

On April 8 the forces under Sir Herbert Kitchener after a night march attacked the Dervishes under Mahmud who were entrenched in a strong position at Nekeila. The place was gallantly carried and Mahmud captured. Our losses were 3 British officers killed and 10 wounded, 23 rank and file killed and 88 wounded. The Egyptian force lost 51 rank and file and 14 officers killed and 319 men wounded. The loss of the enemy has been estimated at 3,000 killed, including 11 principal Emirs, amongst whom was Wad el Bishara, formerly Emir of Dongola. This battle has been called the battle of Atbara.

The Sirdar with his staff, Brigadier-General Macdonald's brigade, five squadrons of cavalry, the horse artillery and the batteries arrived at Berber on 13th April. Mahmud with 2,000 other Dervish prisoners was in the

procession. The Sirdar and staff afterwards proceeded to Wady Halfa. The remnants of the Dervish army dispersed in the direction of Gedaref and Abu Delek. Operations have been suspended till August.

A detachment of the Egyptian garrison of Kassala having skirmished with the enemy at Gaz Rejeb, on the Atbara, the Dervishes were repulsed and a few of the Egyptians, including Major Lawson, were wounded.

The construction of telegraph lines between Suakin and Kassala, and Suakin and Berber, is progressing; both these roads are safe and trade is increasing.

CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA.—Disturbances have again broken out in Unyoro (Uganda), the ex-King Mwanga resuming the offensive and ravishing the western half of Uganda.

Sir A. Hardinge, the commissioner for the British East Africa Protectorate, proceeded in May from Zanzibar to Kismayu where there were some slight troubles with the Somalis.

TRANSVAAL.—Judge Gregorowski has been sworn in as Chief Justice.

Mr. Malherbe has been appointed Treasurer-General, in place of Mr. Boshoff who has resigned.

A fund was raised, which exceeded £5,000, to relieve Mr. Kotze in the pecuniary difficulties caused by his sudden dismissal. Speaking at a banquet in his honour, Mr. Kotze charged the President with having violated both the Constitution and the ordinary laws of the land, interfered with the independence of the High Court, and invaded and imperilled the rights and liberties of everyone in the country.

The Volksraad has elected Judge Reitz, State Secretary, in succession to Dr. Leyds.

The Government, in reply to Mr. Chamberlain's despatch of 16th October, 1897, says that it cannot recognise the existence of British suzerainty since the Convention of 1884, but that it is prepared to abide by the stipulations of that convention.

CAPE COLONY.—The recent elections resulted in the return of the Rhodesian or Progressive candidates by a narrow majority. On 22nd June the Government was defeated by 41 to 36.

Mr. T. L. Graham has been appointed Attorney-General in the place of Sir T. Uppington who has resigned through ill-health.

Mr. Rhodes, who has been re-elected a director of the Chartered Company, advocates a railway from Bulawayo to Lake Tanganyika and has asked the Imperial Government to guarantee the £2,000,000 required, maintaining that by opening communications through Uganda to Khartum, the scheme would secure Africa for this country.

Through telegraphic communication has been established from Cape Town to Blantyre (British Central Africa Protectorate); the distance is over 2,000 miles.

Transvaal trade *via* the Cape for the first quarter showed a decrease of £478,368 compared with the corresponding quarter of 1897. The trade of Rhodesia and Bechuanaland showed an increase of £108,570.

The Government of NATAL having offered to supply, free of cost, 12,000 tons of steam coal annually to ships of H.M.'s navy calling at the port of Durban, the offer has been accepted by the Admiralty.

WEST AFRICA.—An Anglo-French agreement has been signed by which the northern boundaries of the Gold Coast, Lagos, and Nigeria are determined, so far as France and England are concerned. France obtains a 30 years' lease of two "bonded areas" on the navigable Niger, and gives in return a 30 years' guarantee of equal terms for British and French trade in all French West Coast colonies from Liberia to the Niger.

An Imperial force consisting of 200 British and about 1,100 native soldiers under Colonel Lugard have formed a camp at Jebba in order to open communications along the Lagos frontier.

A punitive expedition under Major Festing patrolled the *Hinterland* of Orisha on the left bank of the Niger. The natives offered resistance at Ojuta only, where our casualties were trifling. The district in revolt then submitted.

SIERRA LEONE.—Serious disturbances broke out in the Sherboro in consequence of the imposition of a hut tax. An English commissioner was killed and some American missionaries were murdered at Rotifunk. Troops were sent under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Cunningham to the disturbed districts. A battle took place, the enemy suffering heavy loss. There was also fighting at Kwellu and Karene.

CANADA.—The result of the Mission to Washington by the Canadian Parliament in conjunction with Sir Julian Pauncefoot, relating to fishery regulations, the labour laws, etc., is, that an agreement for a conference to settle outstanding matters in dispute is to be embodied in a protocol. The Behring Sea question will be finally settled on the basis of a complete termination of pelagic sealing.

The United States Government has paid the sum of \$473,157 to Great Britain on account of the awards of the Behring Sea Commission.

Mr. M. C. Cameron, M.P., has been appointed Governor of the North-West Provinces.

The Dominion House of Commons has passed tariff resolutions extending a full preference of a one-quarter reduction to goods from Great Britain and New South Wales, and to raw sugar from the British West Indies. This will come into operation on 1st August.

AUSTRALASIA.—The result of the voting on the Federation which took place on 3rd June was—New South Wales, 68,283 for and 63,499 against. In Victoria, 86,000 for and 19,000 against. In Tasmania, 12,700 for and 2,700 against. As the statutory minimum of 30,000 votes was not reached in New South Wales, the Commonwealth Bill has practically fallen through, but negotiations for its reconsideration in an amended form are still pending.

QUEENSLAND.—The Attorney-General (Mr. Byrnes) has succeeded Sir H. M. Nelson as Premier of Queensland, also holding the portfolio of Chief Secretary and Attorney-General.

Lord Lamington, the Governor, made a tour of inspection in April in New Guinea.

An agreement was concluded at Brisbane giving to a British syndicate an option to purchase lands in British New Guinea, to the extent of 250,000 acres, for the cultivation of rubber, etc., or for mining purposes.

The value of the imports into WESTERN AUSTRALIA during 1897 amounted to £6,418,560, and exports £3,940,048.

The aggregate yield of the principal goldfields of the province for the month of April was 74,052 ounces.

NEW ZEALAND.—The financial year has resulted in a surplus of £500,000, indicating the continued prosperity of the country.

The railways have an estimated surplus of £100,000, the earnings for 1898 showing a percentage of £3 4s. 10d. on the total cost.

A Maori disturbance having occurred, owing to the imposition of a dog tax, troops and a sloop of war were sent to Hokianga. The disturbances have since ceased.

Parliament met on the 24th June. The Government propose to establish an accident and insurance department.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of:—Capt. B. I. Lefroy, R.N. (Baltic and Abyssinia);—Surgeon-General S. Currie, M.D., C.B., Hon. Physician to the Queen (Maharajpur 1843, Sutlej, China, 1860);—Lieut. F. E. Yeld, 1st W. I. Regt., at Karene, Sierra Leone;—Capt. C. A. Malony, Uganda Protectorate (Hazara and Hunza-Nagar, 1891);—Surgeon Lieut.-Col. R. M. Troup, late Army Medical Staff (Bhutan 1864-5, Ashanti 1874, Egypt 1882);—Abdur-rahman Roushdy Pasha;—General C. Crutchley, Colonel of the Welsh Fusiliers;—Col. J. R. Currie, late Bengal C.S. (Panjab 1848-9);—Major-Gen. G. G. Graydon, R.A. (Crimea);—Lieut.-Col. W. Delane, late Royal Bengal Artillery (Panjab 1848-9, Kohat Pass 1850);—Major-Gen. T. Clerk, late Madras S.C. (Karnul 1839, Helmund river 1844);—Lieut.-Col. A. Bosworth (West Africa);—Mr. John Capper, an old Indian and Ceylon journalist;—Sir Sayyad Ahmad, a prominent Indian Muhammadan;—General Sir H. J. Warre, K.C.B. (Crimea, Taptee river 1858, New Zealand 1861);—Captain Macdonald, of wounds in Sierra Leone;—Captain B. C. Urquhart and Captain Findlay, both of the Cameron Highlanders (killed at Atbara);—Lieut. P. A. Gore, Seaforth Highlanders, killed at Atbara;—Lieut.-Col. R. W. Brooke (Multan 1848, Gujerat, Attock, Kaffir war 1851-3, China 1860);—Major G. H. Allfrey (India 1858-9);—General H. Man (Gumsur campaign 1835-7, Bundelkund, Burma 1852-3);—Captain E. C. Corcoran, A.M.S. (Ashanti);—Major-General W. P. Collingwood, C.M.G. (Crimea, Zulu War); General C. H. Abdy, Madras C.S. (Southern Mahratta war 1844-5);—Col. C. P. Cramer, C.B. (Zulu war 1879, Egypt 1882, Hazara, 1891);—Cardinal Taschereau, R.C. Archbishop of Quebec;—Mr. J. H. Nelson, late Madras C.S. and a writer on Hindu law;—Captain F. F. Ramsay (Afghanistan 1879-80, Sudan 1884);—Lieut. Garden (British Central Africa);—Captain B. H. Russell, J.P. (India);—Professor Buchler, an eminent Sanscrit scholar;—Dr. James Paul, formerly of the E.I. Co.;—Major Kemp, a distinguished Maori chief in the New Zealand Militia;—Kavi Dulpuram Dayabhoy, C.I.E., the celebrated blind poet of Gujerat;—Col. Sir V. D. Majendie (Crimea);—Major Donovan, A.S.C. (Nile 1884-5, W. Coast of Africa 1892, Ashanti 1895);—Mrs. Henry Blount;—Mr. J. L. K. van Dort, the well-known Ceylon artist;—The Earl of Caledon (Egypt 1882);—Prince Kung, a younger brother of a former Emperor of

China;—Col. T. P. Graham (Egypt 1882);—Lieut.-Col. C. F. Gambier (Jowaki expedition, Afghanistan 1878-80, Miranzai 1891);—Lieut.-Col. Gartside, in Brisbane (Queensland);—Lieut. R. T. N. Leith, at Umballa;—Maj.-General J. D. Kennedy, late Bengal army (Mutiny);—Lieut.-Col. R. Grove (Kaffir war 1846, Crimea);—Brigade-Surgeon G. M. Govan, formerly Bengal Service (Burma 1852, Bhutan 1864);—Mr. W. M. Maskell, Registrar of the University of New Zealand;—Capt. H. Berkeley, R.N. (Oporto 1846, Kaffir war 1851-3, etc.);—Lieut.-Colonel F. E. Bennett, formerly A.S.C. (Ashanti 1873-4);—Mr. H. N. Lay, C.B., a pioneer of British influence in China;—Major-General E. A. H. Bacon, late Bombay S.C. (Mutiny);—Lieut.-General G. N. Boldero (Crimea);—General A. B. Marsack, Madras S.C.;—Lieut.-Col. J. B. Lindsell, late R.E.;—Lieut.-Col. O. M. Graham, Bengal S.C. (Mutiny, Rohilkand, Oude and Hazara campaigns);—Mr. H. S. Dyer, late Fleet Paymaster, R.N. (China, Bogue forts);—Capt. Baillie, Seaforth Highlanders, of wounds received at Atbara;—Major-General H. St. George Tucker, C.B., late Bengal army (China 1860);—Major-General E. A. Wood, C.B. (Afghanistan 1878-9, Soudan 1884);—Major Napier from wound received at Atbara (Nile and Sudan expeditions 1884-5-6);—Chief George Emil Eminsang, Chief and Field Marshal of Elmina;—Professor F. Müller, the eminent ethnologist and philologist;—General T. E. Knox, C.B. (China 1860);—General Sir D. S. Dodgson, K.C.B., late Bengal S.C. (Jhondpore campaign 1839, Afghanistan 1842, Sutlej 1846, and Mutiny);—Mr. W. B. Russell, Commissioner of Maritime Customs in China;—Dr. E. B. Landis at Chemulpo;—General G. W. Fraser (Sutlej 1845-6, Mutiny and Afghan war);—General A. Fraser, C.B., R.E., late Bengal Engineers (Sutlej 1845-6, Panjab 1848-9, Burma 1852-3);—Major-Gen. A. A. P. Browne, C.E. (Mutiny);—Rabbi Mohilewer, the founder of Zionism;—Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Col. W. A. Barren (Afghanistan 1880, Burma 1886-88);—Sir J. A. Chapleau, late Lieut.-Governor of Quebec;—Major-General Sir W. G. Davies, K.C.S.I. (Panjab frontier);—Col. M. M. Gillies (Bhutan 1865);—Baron Shirane, Japanese Minister of Posts;—Major-General J. E. Mayne, late Madras S.C. (Crimea, Mutiny);—Col. P. Johnston (New Zealand War, 1845-6).

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SHOULD THE PERSONAL LAWS OF THE
NATIVES OF INDIA BE CODIFIED?*

BY SIR ROLAND KNYVET WILSON, BART., M.A., LL.M.

THE immediate stimulus to the preparation of this paper was supplied by the appearance of my friend Sir Courtenay Ilbert's very valuable work on "The Government of India." In Chapter VI. of that work he deals with the application of English Law to natives of India; and after describing and accounting for the gradual supersession of native law, in the departments of crime, civil and criminal procedure, and contract, he proceeds to point out that "within the domain of family law, including the greater part of the law of succession and inheritance," natives still retain their personal law, either modified or formulated, to some extent, by Anglo-Indian legislation."† And then, at page 404, comes this passage in which he does me the honour of referring to me by name, as the latest advocate of a view which he is disposed to reject:

"It has often been suggested that the process of codification should be deliberately extended to native law, and that an attempt should be made, by means of codes, to define and simplify the leading rules of Hindu and Mahomedan law, without altering their substance. Sir Roland Wilson, in particular, has recently pleaded for the codification of Anglo-Mahomedan law. There is, however, reason to believe that he has much under-rated the difficulties of such a task."

* For the discussion of this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

† I am not quite sure what "formulated" refers to.

The allusion here is to a brief digression, occupying about four pages, in a little book called "An Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law" which I published in 1894, and followed up in 1895 with a "Digest." The primary purpose of both books was expository, not controversial; but as the one controversial passage happens to have attracted attention, I feel it rather incumbent on me to justify it if I can, and to supply such expansion and qualification as further reflection may have suggested. And inasmuch as the book itself is not likely to have been read by many of those present, there will I trust be no impropriety, and some convenience, in reading it to you as part of the present paper.

After pointing out how impossible it is for a detached portion of a legal system to go on working out the same social results as before when other parts have been fundamentally altered, I proceed (p. 126):

"Certainly the present state of things bears no stamp of finality about it. Though we have already abolished all parts of the law of Islam which trench in any way on the rights of non-Muhammadans, and most of what seriously offends against British notions of natural justice, and though the family and inheritance law which we continue to enforce would not, perhaps, strike an impartial foreigner as much worse than the corresponding portion of English Law, still there are not wanting indications of a reform party among the Muhammadans themselves, who may in time be in a position to speak for their co-religionists generally. But it is earnestly to be hoped that attention to the *form* of Anglo-Muhammadan Law may take precedence of any further tinkering of its *substance*. At present a Muhammadan of British India, who wishes to acquaint himself with the laws specially affecting him as such, must first consult some English text-book possessing no intrinsic authority whatever; must then, if the statements contained therein are disputed, work back, sometimes to reports of British judicial decisions, credited with various and ill-defined degrees of authority, sometimes to *fatwas* given by nameless Maulawis in the early days of British rule, sometimes to English translations of mediæval Arabic treatises, occasionally, perhaps, to Arabic treatises still untranslated; and must pay, or make his opponent pay, for all the skilled labour employed in the inquiry. Such a system is indeed difficult to defend, except by the *tu quoque* method of pointing out that the condition of Anglo-Hindu Law is considerably worse, and that of some branches of English Law not much better.

"It was otherwise when we said in effect to the native communities,— 'We don't profess to understand your Scriptures, nor your methods of interpretation, but we will trust your accredited representatives to tell us

what the decision should be in each case as it arises.' But we have long ago abandoned that attitude, and cannot now disclaim responsibility for what has come to be in great part our own handiwork. More than half a century ago, when this was much less obvious, the straightforward course of codifying the laws intended to be administered to Hindús and Muhammadans respectively was resolved on, but, unfortunately, not persevered with. Macaulay, in his famous minute on Indian education (1835), having occasion to notice the argument based by the Orientalists on the fact that the Hindu Law was chiefly to be learnt from Sanskrit books and the Muhammadan Law from Arabic books, remarked as follows: 'We are commanded by Parliament to ascertain and digest the laws of India. The assistance of a Law Commission has been given to us for that purpose. As soon as the Code is promulgated, the Shasters and the Hedaya will be useless to a Munsif or Sadr Amin. I hope and trust that before the boys who are now entering at the Madrasa and the Sanskrit College have completed their studies this great work will be finished. It would be manifestly absurd to educate the rising generation with a view to a state of things which we mean to alter before they reach manhood.'*

"As is well known, even the Penal Code framed by this Law Commission hung fire till 1860, and when at last the work of codification was resumed with some degree of energy, the codifiers still showed, as they do to this day, a disposition to postpone indefinitely the application of the process to the two great bodies of personal law which still rest avowedly on a Scriptural basis. The manifestations of this feeling have, so far as I know, come entirely from the British side. In 1882 Sir Syed Ahmed Khan bore emphatic testimony in the Legislative Council of India to the general desire of the natives to have their laws codified, and, so far as the sentiments of educated Muhammadans are concerned, we could hardly have a more competent witness. The British scruples appear to spring, not from any special tenderness for native institutions as they are, but, on the contrary, from an unwillingness to assume that more direct and conspicuous responsibility for them which would be implied from our restating their rules in language of our own selection. One might sympathize with this feeling if there were any solid foundation for what seems to be a common notion among Anglo-Indian administrators, that to codify is to stereotype, but there is not. The natural effect of clear and methodical statement is to facilitate criticism, and to stimulate demands for reform, and such has been the result in the case of every large code yet passed for India. The only peculiarity in the case of personal laws exclusively affecting particular sections of the population is that it is a simpler matter for the ruling power to ascertain and give effect to their wishes. The difficulties in the way of a general representative system for India do not apply to subordinate representative assemblies for castes and sects requiring special legislation, and an example on a small scale of the kind of thing required was afforded as far back as 1806 by Sir Alexander Johnston as Governor of Ceylon. More recently the Parsís have obtained

* Quoted in Boulger's "Memoir of Lord Wm. Bentinck," Rulers of India Series.

by instalments* what is practically a code of inheritance and marriage law on the lines suggested by themselves."

I need not read the concluding paragraph, the purport of which is to point out that the codification of Anglo-Muhammadan Law, while it would be a more serious undertaking than either of the two last-mentioned, would be less complex and difficult than the codification of Anglo-Hindu Law.

You will now perhaps like to have in Sir C. Ilbert's own words his reasons for thinking that I have under-rated the difficulties of such tasks.

"Those difficulties arise, not merely from the tendency of codification to stereotype rules which, under the silent influence of social and political forces, are in process of change, but from the natural sensitiveness of Hindús and Muhammadans about legislative interference with matters closely touching their religious usages and observances, and from the impossibility in many cases of formulating rules in any shape which will meet with general acceptance. It is easy enough to find an enlightened Hindu or Muhammadan, like Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, who will testify to the general desire of the natives to have their laws codified. The difficulty begins when a particular code is presented in a concrete form. Even in the case of a small community such as the Khojas, who have contrived to combine adhesion to the Muhammadan creed with retention of certain Hindu customs, it has, up to this time, been found impossible to frame a set of rules of inheritance on which the leaders of the sect will agree. And any code not based on general agreement would either cause dangerous discontent or remain a dead letter. The misconceptions which have arisen about the recent Guardians and Wards Act, the authors of which expressly disavowed any intention of altering native law, illustrate the sensitiveness which prevails about such matters."

THE FIRST OBJECTION CONSIDERED. DOES CODIFICATION STEREOTYPE?

On the first question here raised, namely whether it is "the tendency of codification to stereotype rules which, under the silent influence of social and political forces, are in process of change," I am fortunate in being able to quote my learned friend himself as an authority for the negative. In his two contributions to the new *Encyclopædia of English Law*, he explicitly recognises that—

* Act IX. of 1837, XV. of 1865, and XXI. of 1865. By an oversight the date of the third instalment is given in the book as 1872.

"The scientific formulation of existing rules, provided the mistake is not made of attempting to stereotype details, illustrates and brings into prominence their defects, and thus stimulates their judicial development, and suggests and facilitates legislative amendments" (p. 69);

and again that—

"Simplification of form facilitates amendments of substance" (p. 288).

This, as you will have observed, is precisely what I had urged in my book. It is confirmed by all the historical evidence known to me. The most famous of ancient codes, that of the Twelve Tables, was amended within five years from its enactment in a most vital point, and one peculiarly significant for my present purpose, namely the abolition of caste restrictions on intermarriage; and by the end of the Republican period there was very little left of it which could be called actual living law. The Corpus Juris of Justinian was modified extensively within the lifetime of its Imperial author, notwithstanding pretensions to finality which no modern legislator would think of making, and the process of change continued so long as the Eastern Empire retained any considerable vitality. The Code Napoléon has been the subject of at least fifteen amending Acts in the course of ninety years, besides an immense amount of collateral legislation. In this country we have no general code, but we have a good many more or less elaborate special codes; and one of the most elaborate of these, the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854, has in 44 years been twice completely recast and twenty-three times amended. And lastly in India each of the two Procedure Codes has been three times completely recast, and several times amended in the intervals between these operations. The Penal Code has not yet been thrown into the melting-pot; but the sections repealed, added, or amended number 75, or about 14 per cent. of the original number, and there has been amendment of some sort on the average once every three years.

I can recall no instance on the other side, unless we choose to give the name of code to rules purporting to be directly revealed from heaven, such as those contained in

the Koran, or unless we include cases in which the legislative machine which produced the Code was subsequently destroyed, as was the case with the Roman Law in Western Europe.

Savigny himself, who I suppose is the original source of most of the talk about the cramping effect of a code, was distinctly in favour of reducing existing case-law to a legislative form, which happens to be the only point now in question.

On the other hand non-codification, at all events under such conditions as prevail in British India, necessarily implies either stagnation or confusion. When I read about "rules which are in process of change through the silent operation of social and political forces," I am rather at a loss to understand what is meant. Social *habits* may no doubt be changed by social influences, but a *rule* which has once (no matter how) acquired the force of law can, according to English judicial theory, only be altered by legislation. For instance, supposing it to be true, as we are often told, and as I am disposed to believe, that polygamy and arbitrary divorce are already rare, and are steadily becoming rarer, among Indian Muhammadans, the legal position of the minority who continue to follow those practices is in no way altered thereby. It is still, as before, the duty of a British judge to send back to her husband the wife who refuses to live with him merely on account of his taking a second wife, and to refuse restitution of conjugal rights to the wife who has been divorced by the triple formula without reason assigned.

I hope the chairman will forgive me for referring in this connection to a bold experiment which he himself tried, with most praiseworthy intentions, as Judge of the High Court of Bombay, when he held, in the case of *Mathura v. Esu Naikin*,* that the special customs of a class of dancing girls, once confessedly recognised by the Courts as consistent with Hindu though not with European morality, might now be set aside on the ground of a general change

* Indian Law Reports, 4 Bom., 545.

in the views of respectable Hindu society. That ruling has not, so far as I know, been either expressly followed or expressly dissented from in the Bombay Presidency; but the Madras High Court emphatically refused to follow it in a very similar case; and we must I think admit, however reluctantly, that there was considerable force in what fell on that occasion from that eminent Hindu Judge, Mr. Muthusami Ayyar: "Only very imperfect material is available to a judge who is bound to decide according to evidence for ascertaining whether to any and what extent there has been a substantial change in the sentiments of the large mass of the Hindu community in regard to a particular usage of a section of the Hindús." It is at all events clear that when we are dealing with the general Hindu Law, or the general Muhammadan Law, no such judicial discretion of recognising and giving effect to new developments of opinion, is admissible. It is excluded by the express words of the Legislature, which has commanded that when the question to be decided belongs to one of the specified topics, "the Muhammadan Law in cases where the parties are Muhammadan, and the Hindu Law in cases where the parties are Hindús, shall form the rule of decision, *except in so far as such law has by legislative enactment been altered or abolished.*" The words used in the original Regulations were, "Law of the Koran" and "Law of the Shasters," and no one has ever doubted that by the substituted terms the Legislature intended to denote bodies of ancient usage, purporting to be based on divine revelation, and not alterable at the will of all or any of the believers in those religions. It is true that the nature of the Hindu, and in a less degree of the Muhammadan, religious law is such as to leave on many points a considerable latitude of interpretation to an astute interpreter; but this kind of astuteness is quite foreign to the ideas which have generally prevailed in the British Courts. In the early days of British rule, it was the habit of the Company's judges to defer implicitly to the opinions of Pundits or Maulawis, selected for their pro-

ficiency in the abstruse learning of the schools, and of all natives the least likely to be influenced by any desire to pour new wine into the old bottles. And when at last the Courts took the interpretation of the native law-sources into their own hands, their chief ambition was to show themselves more orthodox than the Pundits themselves. It does not perhaps matter very much for my present purpose whether the discrepancies were great or small between the rules thus fixed by successive judicial decisions and the established practice and natural expectations of the people concerned, because the point which just now chiefly concerns me is that they were fixed as against any *subsequent* change of popular sentiment, yet I should have liked, had time permitted, to notice by the way a remarkable instance in which the rule judicially stereotyped turned out to be equally at variance with the true meaning of the original Scriptures, with the actual practice of the classes affected by the decision, and with Western common-sense. I refer to the rule that, when a Hindu of high caste wishes to adopt a son, he must avoid any boy whose mother is related to him within the prohibited degrees.*

It is right to state that of late years the Courts have shown themselves by no means unconscious of the hardships which they may be unintentionally inflicting in cases of this kind, and have applied very freely the only palliative within their reach, by encouraging pleas of special custom in derogation of the general Hindu Law, and occasionally in derogation of the general Muhammadan Law, which however does not lend itself so easily to such treatment.

It is becoming an open question, however, whether this remedy is not on the whole worse than the disease. For it means to the actual litigants the enormous expense of

* See V. N. Mandlik's "Hindu Law," p. 474; Golapchandra Sarkar on the "Hindu Law of Adoption," p. 313; Mayne's "Hindu Law and Usage," § 123. The last-named writer admits that there is much force in Mr. Mandlik's arguments, but pleads that it is now much too late to think of reversing the current of decisions. Mr. Arathoon, however, called attention at the meeting to a very recent case, not yet reported, in which the High Court of Allahabad upheld the adoption of a mother's sister's son.

bringing up a host of witnesses on each side, while it means to the community at large, the potential future litigants, a degree of uncertainty as to their domestic relations and their titles to property only a little more tolerable than absolute anarchy. Our chairman tells me that in a well-known Bombay case, in which a father resisted a son's claim for partition, first by arguing, with chequered results, several then unsettled points of law, and secondly by an unsuccessful attempt to prove special caste or family custom, his lawyer's bill came to something like a lakh of rupees.

Even if we grant that the liberty to prove special custom may bring some comfort to those Hindús whose only desire is to tread in the steps of their forefathers, it can by no possibility answer the purpose of assisting those social influences which are tending to bring about beneficial changes, for the simple reason that the Privy Council has laid down in unequivocal terms that special usages modifying the ordinary law must be ancient and invariable. *Ramalakshmi v. Sivanantha*, 14 M. I. A., 585 (1872). *E.g.*, no amount of *modern* usage in any given family or caste of Hindús to refrain from polygamy would affect the legal right of any particular individual to take a second wife when so minded.

All this time, however, I have had a lurking suspicion that, however clearly I might succeed in demonstrating that the codification of custom does not, while its conversion into case-law does, present a serious obstacle to its improvement, I might be leaving untouched the real sentiment which, in many minds, lies at the back of their superficial objections. I mean the feeling that the British Government ought not to appear as stamping with its formal approval, even for a time, rules which are not in accordance with the British standard of family life. But surely we must be very unreflecting sentimentalists if, after swallowing for more than a century the formal enactment of Hindu and Muhammadan Law in the lump, and the careful measures taken by European judges for the piecemeal ascer-

tainment and enforcement thereof as occasion required, we now strain at the final operation of setting down the detailed result in official black and white; or rather of merely rendering the official record more compendious and perspicuous, for the authorized Indian Law Reports are as much official as the Acts of the Indian Legislature. But supposing the difference to have importance in the eyes of the British public, that, from the point of view of the ardent social reformer, should tell in favour of codification, as supplying him with a stronger leverage for agitation.

Or is it apprehended that it will give the natives concerned, those of them who are averse to reform, a stronger conviction that the Government is of their way of thinking? That is not very likely in any case; but the very possibility of it would be obviated by some such explanatory preamble as was prefixed to the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act, making it clear that deference to the wishes of the community concerned, and not abstract approval, is the motive for recognising diversities of personal law.

THE SECOND OBJECTION—DIFFICULTY OF CODIFYING SO AS NOT TO GIVE OFFENCE.

But this mention of native opinion brings me back to Sir C. Ilbert and his second objection, on which he is evidently disposed to lay more stress than on the first, and which is based on just the opposite danger to that last suggested. He apprehends difficulty from "the natural sensitiveness of Hindús and Muhammadans about legislative interference with matters closely touching their religious usages and observances, and the impossibility in many cases of formulating rules in any shape which will meet with general acceptance."

As to the sensitiveness there is of course no doubt. It is the sole and sufficient reason for the settled policy of administering separate personal laws. But the question here is not of legislative interference but of legislative confirmation. If authoritative interpretation of the Scriptures and traditions of the natives, for the specific purpose of

ascertaining civil rights, implies interference with their religion, then such interference must have been deliberately contemplated, as it has been constantly practised, from the first. To relieve the civil Courts of this delicate duty is (as I shall show presently) in the power of the Legislature, but is not in the power of the judges themselves. Again, no one denies the impossibility of formulating a rule on a point which is already, *ex hypothesi*, a matter of debate, in such a way as to satisfy all sections of the community concerned, any more than one would think of denying the impossibility of formulating a judicial decision which will give equal satisfaction to both litigants. The consequences of displeasing somebody have to be faced every day in the ordinary course of business by every judge, and every year by every Legislature; and where the judge is in effect laying down a general rule on a point of general interest, it is hard to see why the Government, whom the judge represents, should have less to apprehend from the hostility of those who may dislike the rule than if it were formulated directly by the Legislature.

For instance, the rule now everywhere in force, that the liability of Hindu sons to pay their father's debts is limited to the amount of assets inherited, was formulated judicially by three of the High Courts, but legislatively, reversing a contrary ruling of the Bombay High Court, in that Presidency; but I never heard of any different manifestations of feeling being evoked by these different modes of procedure.

Sir Courtenay lays stress on the failure to pass a Succession Act for the Khojas on account of the disagreements among their leaders*; but omits to mention that in the case of the far more important Parsi community, which was also much divided about the matter when it was first mooted, not only a Succession Act, but also a Marriage and Divorce Act was firmly pushed through, and seems to have resulted

* I have tried in vain to discover from the Gazette of India when and why this Bill was dropped, after being published and referred to a Select Committee.

in thirty-three years of complete tranquillity. If it be really true that "any code not based on general agreement must either cause dangerous discontent or remain a dead letter," the same must *a fortiori* be true of a body of uncoded case-law; and it comes nearly to this, that law-making in any shape is only safe where it is superfluous.

Certainly there is no lack of evidence that the decisions of the Courts fail to satisfy everybody. The excitement of the Hindu community in 1873 about Kery Kolitani's case is matter of history; and readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly* will not need to be reminded of the recent effervescence among the Muhammadans about the Privy Council decisions on the subject of Wakf, as to which Lord Stanley of Alderley has made himself the English mouthpiece of the malcontents.* There we have on one side a very learned Muhammadan lawyer, who is also a High Court Judge, asserting the lawfulness of perpetual entails, so long as they are made in the form of a dedication of property to Almighty God for the use of the donor's descendants, and assuring us that to hold otherwise "would have the effect of sweeping away an important branch of the Mussulman Law, with which are associated and intermixed the dearest religious interests of the people." On the other side his brother judges, one Hindu and three Englishmen, take their stand on a nearly uniform course of British decisions from 1798 downwards, as relieving them from the duty of considering any new light thrown upon the original law sources, even though it was urged that the authorities most directly in point had either never before been brought to the notice of the Courts or had been misunderstood. Their Lordships of the Privy Council could not exactly take that line, and made a show of grappling with the new materials brought to their notice, but disposed of them by a device which was rather effective as an *argumentum ad fideles* than seriously convincing to a legal historian. They refer

* See Indian Law Reports, 17 Cal. 498; 19 Cal. 412; 20 Cal. 116; 22 Cal. 619, and *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1897.

reverentially to the great lawgiver, as though Muhammad were personally responsible for all the developments of Muhammadan Law, and urge in effect that a law clothing perpetual private entails with the sanction of religion could not have emanated from the same mind as the law which renders void all gifts or bequests to unborn persons. Perhaps not; it certainly is easier to imagine such a practice coming into vogue in the time of the Crusades than in the infancy of Islam. But perhaps also the application of such critical tests to what Muhammadans have received as their sacred law for many centuries is calculated to excite even greater "sensitiveness" than if they had been simply told that a century of nearly uniform British rulings presents a barrier too strong for even the highest Court of Appeal to surmount.

Not that this last answer can be expected to satisfy them. They may naturally say—"This maxim, *stare decisis*, belongs to your legal system, not to ours. If therefore there has been a misinterpretation which on your principles the Courts are incompetent, but the Legislature is competent, to correct, let the Legislature now step in and correct it, or else let it openly withdraw this whole subject of perpetuities from the domain of personal law, and place us all for this purpose under the Indian Succession Act."

Do not understand me to assume, either the correctness of Justice Ameer Ali's view as to what the law is, or the unanimity of Indian Muhammadans as to what it ought to be. Presumably there is a good deal of human nature in them as in other people, and it is not in ordinary human nature to admire strict entails when one happens to be an impecunious landowner wanting to borrow, or a creditor anxious to realize, or a father with disobedient sons, or a childless person, or a speculator interested in there being plenty of land in the market. Moslems so situated are probably now blessing the Privy Council; but they would equally welcome an Act of the Indian Legislature laying down the same rule, especially if it were declared in the

preamble, following the precedent of the Hindu Widows Remarriage Act, to be in accordance with what some Muhammadans hold to be good religious law.

On the whole, then, the argument that codification is dangerous because no rules that any Legislature could frame could be expected to please everybody, is a still stronger argument against the present system of judiciary law-making. In legislation discontent may be indefinitely diminished, by care in ascertaining beforehand the line of least resistance, and by promptitude in correcting errors as soon as they are discovered. But for courts of justice, so far as they are faithful to their statutory duty of interpreting ancient Scriptures or upholding ancient usage, there is no scope for the exercise of political tact; and so far as they adhere to the maxim, *stare decisis*, there is no possibility of correcting errors. If they construe their duty strictly, there is stagnation; if laxly, confusion. Twenty years ago that very learned lawyer, Mr. J. D. Mayne, remarked with reference to the latest codification proposal then before the public, that "he could easily imagine a very beautiful and specious code, which should produce much more dissatisfaction and expense than the law as at present administered." I wonder whether his imagination still runs to that length. I must confess that mine does not. As to the amount of dissatisfaction actually felt or manifested, it behoves me, as a stay-at-home Englishman, to speak with some reserve; but as to the real mischief, in expense and other ways, and consequently as to the amount of dissatisfaction which ought to be, and would be, felt if the people knew precisely where to locate the source of their sufferings, I feel much better assured. I find, for instance, on examining the last series of Indian Law Reports, that about 18 per cent. of the cases determined on appeal, either by one of the High Courts or by the Privy Council, which it was thought worth while to report, turned on points of Muhammadan or Hindu Law, which implies that the dispute was about either family

relations or family property; whereas only about 9 per cent. of the reported cases determined in England by the Court of Appeal or the House of Lords turned on disputes of a similar character. I think you will agree with me that the amount of *domestic* quarrelling and misery thus directly attributable to the uncertainty of the personal laws of India must be far worse in its social effects than an equal amount of litigation on matters of contract or tort between strangers.

THE REAL NATURE OF THE PROBLEM, AND THE
PRELIMINARY CONDITIONS FOR ITS SOLUTION.

While, however, I am more strongly impressed with the present and palpable inconvenience of standing still than with the hypothetical dangers of going forward, I am very far from supposing that there is no need for caution, or that the most direct line of advance is necessarily the best. The very reason why we cannot, in my opinion, commence our preparations too soon, is that there is so much preparatory work to be done. I will explain presently what this consists of; but I must first interpose one very necessary explanation as to the nature and scope, as I conceive them, of the main undertaking.

I have never proposed, and do not now propose, to codify either Hindu or Muhammadan Law as such; and I must ask you particularly to bear this in mind, because I am now going to read to you certain weighty observations which may at first sight appear rather opposed to my ideas, but with which in point of fact I entirely agree. They are from the Second Report of the First Commission appointed in England to examine the recommendations submitted to the Government of India by the Indian Law Commission. The Report is dated the 13th December, 1855.*

"We have arrived at the conclusion that what India wants is a body of substantive Civil Law, in preparing which the law of England should be used as a basis; but which, once enacted, should itself be the law of India

* See p. 58 of the Report.

on the subjects it embraced. . . . Such a body of law, prepared as it ought to be with a constant regard to the constitution and institutions of India, and the character, religions, and usages of the population, would, we are convinced, be of great benefit to that country.

"Being designed to be the law of India on the subjects it embraces, this body of law should govern all classes of persons in India, except in cases excluded from its operation by express provisions of law. Not only, however, must there be large exceptions in respect of amenability to this body of law, but there are important subjects of Civil Law which we think it would not be advisable that it should embrace. It would be premature to attempt now to define either the exceptions or exclusions.

"We see no reason, however, why, on very many important subjects of Civil Law,—we shall only name one, contracts, as an example,—such law cannot be enacted as will be no less applicable to the transactions of Hindús and Muhammadans, by far the most numerous portions of the population, than to the rest of the inhabitants of India.

"If on any subject embraced in the new body of law it should be deemed necessary that for a particular class of persons or for a particular district or place there should be law different from the general law, and if there shall be no special and cogent objection to the insertion of such special law into the proposed body of law, such special law, we think, ought to be provided in that way. But *it is our opinion that no portion either of the Muhammadan Law or of the Hindu Law ought to be enacted as such in any form by a British Legislature.* Such legislation, we think, might tend to obstruct rather than to promote the gradual progress of improvement in the state of the population. It is open to another objection, too, which seems to us decisive. The Hindu Law and the Muhammadan Law derive their authority respectively from the Hindu and the Muhammadan religion. It follows that as a British Legislature cannot make Muhammadan or Hindu religion, so neither can it make Muhammadan or Hindu Law. A code of Muhammadan Law, or a Digest of any part of that law, if it were enacted as such by the Legislative Council of India, would not be entitled to be regarded by Muhammadans as the very law itself, but merely as an exposition of law, which possibly might be incorrect. We think it clear that it is not advisable to make any enactment which would stand on such a footing."

So do I. But I go further, and say that, since the British Government cannot make Hindu or Muhammadan Law by direct enactment, it should no longer attempt to make it indirectly under the guise of judicial interpretation. What it can make and ought to make is, two or more diverse bodies of family law, suitable for application, by such civil courts as are now constituted in British India, to Hindús and Muhammadans owning allegiance to Her

Majesty. Such bodies of exceptional law would be fitly indicated by the adjectives "Anglo-Hindu" and "Anglo-Muhammadan"; they would not pretend to be the very "Law of the Shasters" or "Law of the Koran," but to be accommodated as far as possible, consistently with paramount considerations of humanity and public policy, to the special habits and sentiments known to prevail among the believers in those Scriptures respectively. In other words, our attitude in this 40th year of direct British rule should be in harmony rather with the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 than with the old Regulations of the East India Company. The difference is fundamental. The policy chalked out by Warren Hastings for the Company, standing ostensibly in the shoes of the Great Mogul, was not a policy of religious neutrality, but of active support of the two native religions in their respective spheres. It had begun to be modified long before the Mutiny, but the sharp, decisive turn was made by the Queen's proclamation. Notice particularly the clear separation, in that memorable document, of the subject of religion from that of law and usage. In one paragraph, those in authority are strictly charged to "abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects"; in another, which does not immediately follow it,—“We will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.” In other words, creeds and ritual are outside the proper sphere of State patronage and control—at all events, in such a country as British India; but the personal and proprietary rights of individuals, including those depending upon family relations, are essentially the business of the State, and none the less because the subjects may happen to call them “religious institutions.” In defining and protecting these rights, the State should take into account all ancient usages, and not disturb them without urgent reason—why? Not because the Government believes in their divine origin, not *merely* because they are ancient,

but because laws cannot be effective for good unless they are fairly popular, and because the antiquity and alleged sanctity of a rule are *prima facie* evidences of its popularity. One man may like an old law because it is familiar to him, or because he is a devout believer in the Scripture from which it is derived ; another may prefer a new law because he has become conscious of new needs. It is for the Government to ascertain if possible the actual state of mind of those concerned, and only when direct evidence fails to be guided by general presumptions.

I will now proceed to specify the conditions precedent which ought in my opinion to be satisfied before any further proposals for the codification of separate personal laws are seriously entertained.

FIRST CONDITION—A COMPLETE "LEX LOCI" OF
FAMILY RELATIONS AND FAMILY PROPERTY.

The first condition is that the general code of substantive civil law should first be completed, at all events as regards those topics with which the special codes would have to deal. We have at present, more or less connected with Family Relations and Family Property :

The Indian Succession Act, 1865 ; originally introduced as " Chapter I. of the Indian Civil Code " ;

The Administration Act, 1881 ;

The Trust Act, 1882 ;

Act III. of 1872, providing a general form of marriage for nondescript persons, and incorporating the Indian Divorce Act, 1869, which was originally applicable only to Christians ;

The Married Women's Property Act, 1874 ;

The Indian Majority Act, 1875 ; and lastly,

The Guardians and Wards Act, 1890.

But there is much discrepancy as to the range of personal application of these various enactments.

The Administration Act, the Trust Act, the Indian Majority Act, and the Guardians and Wards Act, apply

generally to all persons domiciled in British India, but with saving of the rules connected with particular religions on certain points.

The Succession Act (as originally passed), and the two Acts connected with marriage, have the common feature of not applying at all to those who have definite personal laws of their own on the subjects to which they relate ; consequently of applying only to a very small percentage of the population, comprising very heterogeneous elements. But portions of the Succession Act have since been extended to some Hindús, and the classes excluded from the purview of the Succession Act are not identical with those excluded from the Marriage Acts, Jews and Christians having their own separate marriage laws, whereas most domiciled Christians come under the Succession Act, and so do Jews in India Proper, though not now in Aden.

These various enactments, taken together, do not perhaps require very many positive additions in order to cover, after a fashion, the same range of topics as the personal laws now administered to Hindús and Muhammadans. The chief omissions that I have noticed are, a table of prohibited degrees, and some rules as to natural guardianship and as to the test of legitimacy. But considerable revision would be necessary in order to weld them into a compact homogeneous code, by reference to the chapters and sections of which each divergent system could be conveniently delineated. And on the whole I am disposed to think that time will be saved in the long run by first completing the whole Indian Civil Code, of which the Succession Act was intended to stand as Chapter I.

Considering that the Legislative Department has already somewhere in its pigeon-holes Sir F. Pollock's draft Code of Torts, the items of the original programme which still remain to be disposed of do not seem so very formidable, if we could only recover some of the energy which bore fruit in the great years 1865, 1872, and 1882.

SECOND CONDITION—FACILITIES FOR CHANGE OF PERSONAL LAW WITHOUT CHANGE OF CREED.

The second condition is, that some practicable scheme should be devised for determining the persons to be exempted from this general *Lex Loci* in respect of marriage, inheritance, and so forth, not, as now, generically, as persons professing a particular creed, but individually, as persons electing to place themselves under an alternative set of rules, for reasons satisfactory to themselves. Of course any Hindu or Muhammadan electing not to remain under the special code intended for members of his communion must run a certain risk of being excommunicated by his co-religionists; but the responsibility for this social rupture should be left with them, not forced upon him by the State. The example of Mr. Justice Ameer Ali himself shows that it is quite possible for a person to believe fervently, in a general way, in the prophetic character of Mahomet, and yet to hold that many civil precepts now current with the stamp of his authority are either no part of the original revelation, or were delivered with reference to circumstances which have ceased to exist. Such a person would never think of making a declaration that he did not belong to the Muhammadan religion; but he might quite conceivably feel no scruple about subjecting himself to a monogamous law of marriage, and his property to a simpler scheme of inheritance; especially as the testamentary power would enable him still to give effect to any particular Muhammadan rule that he might happen to believe in. And he might also, quite conceivably, find a sufficient number of like-minded co-religionists to fortify him against the terrors of excommunication.

In support of this view I am glad to be able to refer to the Report of the Fourth Indian Law Commission (1879) in which our Chairman had a hand. They say (p. 18):

“It may eventually be found expedient to place the law of status on a footing wholly unconnected with religious belief and profession whenever

the two are not indissolubly united. . . . In the meantime it deserves consideration whether, as regards property wholly at his own disposal, the native of India (who may under circumstances elect among different forms of Hindu Law*) ought not to be empowered to place himself under the sway of the Succession Act, and the other general laws of the same class enacted by the Legislature. It seems highly undesirable to make a declaration of a change of faith a condition precedent to admission to an improved law of property and succession; and a public notice duly registered may perhaps be thought a sufficient safeguard against fraud on the part of one desiring to embrace the benefits of modern legislation."†

To work out a scheme on these lines would require more knowledge of various kinds than I possess. But my general idea is that the first marriage is the proper occasion for fixing the status of every man or woman, boy or girl; by some appropriate "act in the law," so far as relates to his or her matrimonial rights and duties, to the guardianship of the children of the marriage, and to the devolution, intestate or testamentary, of the property vested in him or her at the time of the marriage or acquired subsequently; but subject, of course, in the former case to the vested rights of other persons in the same subject-matter, as coparceners, reversioners, or otherwise. The law governing the first marriage will of course determine the capacity of each person to contract a second marriage, polygamous or otherwise, and the rights of the first family as against the second; but if, subject to these conditions, it ever becomes worth anyone's while to contract a second

* Or among different forms of Muhammadan Law. See my "Digest of Anglo-Muhammadan Law," p. 14, section 14.

† On reading this passage again, I see that it makes sufficiently clear, what was made still more clear by Sir R. West at the meeting, that his proposal was meant to be confined to what he called the "economic" part of the law—practically only the restrictions imposed on alienation by the constitution of the Hindu joint family—and that he did not contemplate the possibility of a Hindu or Muhammadan desiring to place himself under a territorial marriage law. My proposal, as will be seen, does go that length, and therefore I cannot claim to the full extent the weight of his authority in its favour. I do not quite see how his more limited proposal would consist with the structure of the Succession Act, which seems rather to presuppose a monogamous constitution of the family and equality of the sexes.

marriage under a different law, I see no reason why this should not be permitted.

Questions as to the succession to the property of unmarried persons will seldom arise ; but whenever they do the capacity of such persons to make a will, or the scheme of inheritance applicable on intestacy, will of course be determined by the law of their parents.

By far the commonest case, under existing social conditions, will be that of boys and girls married by their parents or guardians, with little or no voice in the matter ; little under Muhammadan Law, none at all under Hindu Law. Generally, therefore, if a change of personal law takes place on the occasion of marriage, it will be because the father has changed his religious belief since his own marriage, or because, without changing his religious belief, he sees reason to prefer the territorial system of marriage and succession, and has succeeded in finding a bride for his son, or a bridegroom for his daughter, as the case may be, whose parents are of the same mind, and are prepared, like him, to brave the consequences.

The universal registration of marriages will be a natural, but not quite a necessary, consequence of this scheme being adopted. At present all marriages under Act III. of 1872 must be registered, and this provision will of course be retained in some shape when that Act is superseded by the general civil code. Christian and Parsi marriages are also required to be registered. Provision is already made by a local Act for the optional registration of Muhammadan marriages in Bengal, and Justice Ameer Ali has expressed the opinion that this ought to be made compulsory and general. So far as our present object is concerned, it would perhaps be sufficient to enact that the use of marriage ceremonies proper to a particular religion shall be only presumptive proof of the parties being governed by the corresponding system of matrimonial and inheritance law, and shall not prevail against a registrar's certificate that the marriage was in fact contracted under some other law or

under the general law. But of course everything that can be done, without offence to native sentiment, towards securing a complete register of the persons governed by each recognised special code, ought to be done.

THIRD CONDITION—COLLECTIVE ASSENT TO EACH SPECIAL CODE OF THE CLASS AFFECTED, TO BE ELICITED THROUGH SOME SUITABLE REPRESENTATIVE MACHINERY.

The third *sine quâ non* is the good will of the communities to be legislated for. This condition is in my view the most important of all, but it should not be so interpreted as to afford an excuse for inaction. It does not mean that we should expect the initiative to come from the natives, still less that we should wait for proof of absolute unanimity before doing anything. If there is evidence that the present system, or want of system, is causing much discontent and still more real mischief, it is for the physician—*i.e.*, the Government—to devise a remedy, and then to obtain if he can the patient's consent to its being tried. The patient however being in this case not an individual, but a class of persons, who will not all think alike, and who are not all capable of thinking at all about the matter, the first thing to be done is to endow this class with an artificial personality—artificial in the sense of being the result of deliberate and skilful contrivance, but natural in the sense of reflecting in its constitution the natural relations already subsisting among the members of the class in question. Such constitutions would not be entirely new. I suppose every Hindu caste possesses machinery of some sort for ascertaining and expressing its collective will; and though the Muhammadans of India are not formally grouped into castes, evidence comes from time to time before the public that those of the same sect in each locality have some sort of common life and more or less recognised leaders. Would there be any insuperable difficulty in so building upon these foundations where they exist, or creating them where they do not exist, that in every district the heads of families governed by the

same personal law may be treated with as a community, through a representative committee, on all questions relating to the interpretation, or reform, of that personal law? If this is impracticable, then I must admit that the least dangerous course will be to go on as at present; but it cannot be known to be impracticable until it has been fairly tried, and it cannot be fairly tried until at least one special code has been actually drafted and published side by side with the alternative portion of the general code, and until a Commission has been appointed to go about the country, explaining the proposals to the members of the community concerned, and organizing meetings for their proper discussion. I assume that the draft would in the first instance express what is now understood to be the law (*e.g.*, the marriage and inheritance law now administered to Muhammadans of the Hanafi sect), and that opinions would be invited as to whether it ought to be stated differently, either on the ground of its not corresponding to established usage, or on the ground of the usage itself requiring amendment.

It is impossible, at the fag end of a lecture already too long, to go further into details, and there are probably many here whose judgment as to the practicability of any particular scheme would be much more valuable than mine. I will only express my conviction, derived mainly from reflection on the general principles of government, that if we desire, as every right-minded person must desire, to see the natives of India fitted for ever larger and larger measures of self-government, the most effective training will be found, not in local sanitary boards and so forth, good as these may be in their way, but in deliberations among those already bound together by community of social usages, as to the questions of deepest interest to them in those relations. As Sir Henry Cunningham put it twenty-two years ago, in the interesting preface to his "*Digest of Hindu Law*":

"While preserving to the utmost the wholesome rule of non-interference with national usages, we ought to offer the Hindús every facility for

reforming them for themselves, to invite them to discuss the expediency of their law, and to familiarize them with the idea of the deliberate improvement of that law in particulars in which it has come to lag behind the civilization of the age."

FOURTH CONDITION—MONEY.

The fourth and last condition, for this as for most other undertakings, is money. I presume that revived activity in this matter of codification would necessitate a considerable strengthening of the Legislative department, and a considerable expenditure on commissions and local inquiries. But, as a famous general said recently in commending a forward military policy, "Finance is not my business"—at all events on the present occasion. I will only remind you of the obvious truth that the taxpaying power of the community is impaired to an incalculable extent by the discouragement of enterprise, the wasteful litigation, and the bitter family feuds, which are the inevitable fruit of incognoscible and unsuitable law.

With Dr. Whitley Stokes, I would take for our motto the words of Macaulay—"Uniformity where you can have it; diversity where you must have it; but in all cases certainty."

A NEEDED REFORM IN INDIAN ADMINISTRATION.

BY ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E.,

Late officiating Commissioner of Orissa, and some time Member of the
Legislative Council of Bengal.

"I MAY suggest," said Sir Henry Fowler in June last, in reply to some remarks of Mr. Pickersgill in the House of Commons, "that if Lord Clive and Warren Hastings had had their proceedings discussed in the House on frequent occasions, and if those proceedings had been made the subject of Parliamentary inquiries, we should possibly not have had an Indian Empire."

It is not easy to understand in what sense Sir Henry Fowler used the phrase "Parliamentary inquiries." In the sense in which a student of Indian History ordinarily understands the expression, the very reverse of what Sir Henry Fowler said is the truth. It is because the proceedings of the servants of the East India Company were subjected to periodical inquiries, it is because abuses were removed and reforms were initiated periodically after such inquiries, that England has an empire in India at the present day. Sir Courtenay Ilbert, in his excellent historical Introduction to his work on the "*Government of India*" has pointed out that the entire period from 1760-1858 is "marked by Acts of Parliament occurring with one exception at regular intervals of twenty years," following on the Parliamentary stock-taking upon which each renewal of the Company's Charter was conditional. It was these Parliamentary inquiries which cleansed what was impure, and strengthened what was weak, in the Company's administration, and which have materially helped in the building up of the British Empire in India.

"We have lost the salutary effect of those periodical inquiries now," I wrote last year,* "and the direct adminis-

* "*England and India, 1785-1885.*" Chatto and Windus, 1897.

tration of India by the Crown has, along with many great and obvious advantages, this one disadvantage—that the administration is virtually responsible to none.”

A friendly critic, himself an Indian administrator of high distinction,* has made some just and thoughtful remarks on my book in the January number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* from which I may be pardoned for making an extract.

“The key-note of the whole difficulty is sounded by Mr. Dutt when he says in his preface that ‘the direct administration of India by the Crown has, along with many great and obvious advantages, this one disadvantage—that the administration is virtually responsible to none.’ The Government of India is a benevolent despotism; the inhabitants of India, whether of Indian or European birth, whether they are officials or non-official, have absolutely no control over its actions. For it is obvious that the British residents—even the civil and military officers of the Crown, unless they are in the Governor-General’s Council—have no more voice in determining the policy of the Government than the native gentlemen, or even the native peasantry. The only power which can, and occasionally does, control the Government of India, is the British Parliament, a body which is subject to all the humours and inconstancies of the electorate of Great Britain.

* * * * *

“Is there any chance, however, of detailed reforms in Indian administration ever forming part of a party programme in Great Britain? and if there were such a chance, is it desirable that the Government of India should be guided in the details of its administration by the voice of the British public? Nothing would more tend to rivet the existing despotism upon the necks of the Indian people, while the despotism, if better intentioned, would certainly be far less intelligent than it is at present.

“No; what is wanted is that more control should be exercised in India, and by the Indian people, over their own affairs.”

Most people with experience in Indian administration will be inclined to agree with Mr. Ward that (while Parliamentary inquiries at stated periods into Indian administration have been beneficial in the past, and are no less necessary in the present), the control over the everyday details of Indian administration should come, not from the electorate of Great Britain, but from the Indian people. If we calmly inquire into the true causes of that feeling of unrest, and even of some degree of bitterness between

* G. E. Ward, some time Commissioner in the N.-W. Provinces.

different classes, which is now observable in India, we shall find that it is really due to a policy which unwisely and ungenerously excludes the people of India from all real control over the administration, and makes them irresponsible and hostile critics instead of loyal partakers in the work of government. And if we pass in brief review some of the recent measures of the Indian Government, we shall find how much the Government have lost, even within the last year or two, in not allowing that partial control to the people of India which the people alone are fit to exercise in the management of their own concerns.

There are not many Englishmen familiar with Indian questions who approve either of the policy which led to the recent Indian Frontier War, or of the decision of the Government to charge the whole cost of that war to the Indian revenues, while England has made a gift of nearly a million towards the expenses of the Egyptian Frontier War. Would it have been a loss or a real advantage towards a sound decision on these points if the people of India had some voice, not in ultimately deciding the questions, but in influencing by their constitutionally expressed opinion the decision of the Imperial Government? What the opinion of the people of India would have been, has been well expressed by Mr. Ward. "At the present moment the whole country is hotly debating the question not only whether the frontier policy of the Indian Government is wrong or right, but how it came about, and which party is responsible. Yet one thing is perfectly certain; that if the people of India during the last ten years had had any—the very slightest—control over the taxation of the country, or the application of its revenues, the Government would have been forced either to abandon its expensive schemes of frontier defence, or to have prosecuted them under the direct sanction of Parliament at the cost of the British Exchequer."* And, we may add, the representatives of the Indian people would not have wired to the Secretary of State for India that

* *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1898.

India could do without help from England in this year of all years, and Englishmen would not have perpetrated the unspeakable injustice of charging to India the whole cost of the Indian Frontier War, while contributing to Egypt nearly a million towards the Egyptian Frontier War. A greater recognition of the popular sentiment and of popular control in the administration of India would have enabled the Indian Government to avoid a policy which has led to a needless war, or to demand from the Imperial exchequer a contribution towards the war brought about in pursuance of an Imperial policy. Neither Lord Elgin nor Sir James Westland had a right to speak for India, nor have they spoken wisely.

But let us pass on to another question which is attracting more attention at the present moment. Lord Elgin and Sir James Westland have submitted to the Secretary of State for India their proposals about the Indian Currency. The proposals are now under consideration by a Committee in this country, and we do not desire to anticipate their decision or express any opinion on their merits. But the point which we desire to urge is that the Government of India should not have made any proposals at all without consulting the people of India through their representative men and natural leaders. The point that we desire to urge is that the proposals of the Indian Government would have been sounder and wiser, and could have been urged with greater force, if they had been framed after consulting the people. The people have an interest in their currency far greater than either the Government of India, responsible for the adjustment of the Indian Budget, or the European merchants and traders, having transactions in the East. All the investment which the poor people of India ever make is made, not in savings banks, but in the shape of silver jewellery for their women; and the millions of the labourers and the cultivators of India have a right to be heard, through their representatives, before a proposal is made calculated to depreciate the value of their savings

made in years and generations past. The agriculturists of India are also deeply indebted to money lenders in all parts of India; and they have a right to be heard, through their representatives, before a proposal is made calculated to increase their indebtedness by artificially increasing the value of the rupee. Nothing brings into greater prominence the defect of the present method of Indian administration than the fact that a few officials, however experienced and however able, should consider themselves justified in making sweeping proposals to alter the value of the Indian Currency, without consulting the nation, whose national wealth these proposals are calculated to depreciate, and whose general indebtedness they are calculated to enhance. It would seem, from the action taken by the Indian Government, as if India existed for the convenience of the Government of India and for the convenience of foreign traders. It would seem as if the happiness of the Indian nation was a "negligible quantity," and the opinion of representative Indians was superfluous. The most impartial tribunal in the world will decide cases wrongly and unjustly if it decides them after accepting evidence on one side only; and the best and most honest Government in the world necessarily becomes selfish, unsympathetic, and unjust to the people for whom it exists, and ends by sacrificing the interests of the people to the interests of influential classes, if it refuses to grant to the people themselves some share in the control of affairs.

Let us take up another question which is also attracting much attention at the present moment. The question of constructing more railways in India from the State funds, or under guarantee of profit granted by the State, is often discussed. The question is decided in every case by the Secretary of State for India on such information as is placed before him by the Government of India. Would it be an unwise departure from this policy to consult the representatives of the people whose money is spent? The general opinion among the people of India is that,

now that the great military lines have been constructed, now that the lines really required for famine protection have been laid down, the Government should not directly or indirectly make the people's money responsible for further lines. The impression is that India is not rich enough to construct those new lines which are being multiplied from year to year; that it is an unsound, hurtful, and disastrous policy to continuously add to the national debt of India in order to construct these new lines which the people do not want, and which the country's finances do not justify. The impression is that pressure is brought to bear upon the Government by influential classes of capitalists and manufacturers for opening such new lines for serving special interests, and that the Government, with every desire to be honest and impartial, sacrifices the interests of the people, because the people are not constitutionally allowed to express and enforce their views as against the views of influential classes. The impression is (to use the words of the late Sir George Campbell, some time Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), that when British capitalists have put their money in losing concerns in India, people in London bully and abuse the Government of India to get the concerns taken over, and eventually they are successful. There may or may not be some truth in these impressions; but the demand that the Indian people's money should not be invested on new lines of railway in India, or on the road from Burma to China, without consulting the people's wishes, is just and reasonable. To borrow money in England to an unlimited extent to further extend the railway system in India or outside India proper, is, for the Indian Government, a policy of extravagance and of injustice to the people.

Is it necessary to further elucidate our remarks by a reference to the history of the Import Duties of India? It will be in the recollection of most Indian officials that the Government of India and the Government at home have repeatedly made "graceful concessions" to the

demands of Lancashire, and have sacrificed Indian revenues, because the people of India have no constitutional power to back their Government and to resist such demands. But the end is not yet. On the 9th of this month (August), the Secretary of State for India was asked in the House of Commons to admit British manufacture in India at a further reduction of one-fourth the duty on foreign goods, after the example of Canada. Lord George Hamilton declined to do so, but the assailants have only to persist to carry their point. Neither Conservatives nor Liberals are strong enough to resist for any length of years such demands backed by twenty or thirty or forty solid votes in the House. And unless the people of India are allowed the constitutional right to stand by their Government, and to defend their national revenues and their national interests, the humiliating sight will be witnessed again and again of the British Government in India knowingly and openly sacrificing the interests of the people of India under the mandate of British voters at home.

From the question of railways and of import duties let us turn to another question which is engaging the attention of Indian legislators at the present moment, viz., the condition of cultivators in Southern India. No question is more intimately connected with the material well-being of the people of India than that of land-administration; and the question will never be settled satisfactorily so long as representatives of the people are not allowed a constitutional method of expressing and enforcing their opinions in the matter of land settlements. An intelligent Indian landlord or publicist has often a more familiar grasp of the subject than European officials who have written reports on it all their lifetime; and the proceedings of the Godavari District Conference, of which we find reports in the Indian papers recently received, show how well the representative men of Madras are fitted to take a real share in shaping and controlling land administration in that province.

The historical review of the status of the Madras

cultivator given by the President of the Conference is most instructive. Over forty years ago, in the Madras Administration Report of 1855-56, the Government declared that "under the *Ryotwari* system every registered holder of land is recognised as its proprietor, and pays direct to Government. He cannot be ejected by Government so long as he pays the *fixed assessment*." In 1857 the Madras Board of Revenue stated in their report to the Government that "a Madras ryot is able to retain his land *in perpetuity without any increase of assessment*, as long as he continues to fulfil his engagements." And the Government in its review of Mr. Rickett's report wrote: "The proprietary right of a ryot is perfect, and as long as he pays the *fixed assessment on his land* he can be ousted by no one." The italics are ours; and we desire to invite attention to the fact that the assessment of the land held by the Madras ryot was considered fixed, and not liable to increase, forty years ago.

The subject received the attention of statesmen like Lord Lawrence, Lord Mayo, and Lord Northbrook, Viceroys who paid more attention to improving the material condition of the people of India than to seeking a "scientific frontier" among the hills and fastnesses of Afghanistan. It was at last given a final shape by Lord Ripon, who sanctioned a modified form of permanent settlement. It was published in the Settlement Manual and Standing Orders, as well as in Government Orders on the Agricultural Committee's Report, that in all districts adequately assessed, the assessment, *so far as it was based upon classification of soils and calculation of grain out-turns, was permanent and unalterable*; and that revisions would be made in future settlements *only with reference to prices*.

Lastly, we come to the present policy of the Madras Government, by which, we are informed, the Government reserves to itself the right of revising assessments, *either with reference to rise or fall in prices, or in reference to*

other considerations requiring reclassification of soils or recalculation of grain returns.

We do not pretend to any special or personal knowledge of the Madras system of settlements, and we have quoted the above statements from the proceedings of the Conference in the hope of obtaining further information on the subject. Is it a fact that in 1857 the registered Madras ryot was declared to be entitled to hold his land in perpetuity without any increase of assessment? Is it a fact that during Lord Ripon's administration, 1880-84, the Madras ryot, in adequately assessed areas, was assured that the rent payable by him was permanent and unalterable, so far as classification of soils and calculations of grain outturns were concerned? And, thirdly, is it a fact that at the present day the Government of Madras have taken the power to revise rents in every recurring settlement, on the basis of re-classification of soils and re-calculation of grain returns, as well as on the rise of prices?

In Bengal, where most of the estates are owned by private landlords, every successive Act has strengthened the position of the cultivator. Lord Canning's Act of 1859 was the cultivator's *Magna Charta*; and this was revised and strengthened by the Bengal Act of 1868. Lastly came the Tenancy Act, drafted by Lord Ripon and passed by Lord Dufferin in 1885, which further extended and consolidated the rights of the Bengal cultivator. And the result of these three Acts is that the Bengal cultivator is (except in a few congested districts) a prosperous, provident, and intelligent tiller of the soil, who has adequate protection against enhancement of rents, who knows his rights and can hold his own, and who in a year of bad harvests has some resources to fall back upon, and can often avert a famine. We pause for information if the Madras cultivator, who has the Indian Government as his landlord, has similarly progressed in his rights and his material condition; or if the State-landlord has gradually divested him of his rights and his resources from 1857 to 1884, and from 1884 to 1897.

In Madras, the impression is that the Government as landlord has not dealt with the cultivator fairly ; that it has encroached on those rights of fixity of rent which the ryot enjoyed before. The Honourable Mr. Subha Rao pointed out in the Madras Legislative Council that the Madras Local Government had, under a misapprehension of the orders of the Secretary of State, launched upon a retrograde policy, set aside its past declarations, and endangered the security of the *Ryotwari* system of Madras. Lands are now reclassified, in violation of the pledges given by Lord Ripon's Government, and rents are enhanced on other grounds than fluctuation in prices.

The Honble. Mr. Subha Rao and the President of the Godavari District Conference may or may not be absolutely correct, but there is no doubt they represent honestly and ably the people's view on these questions ; and nothing is gained and much is lost in the cause of good government in India by denying to such men a constitutional means of influencing the executive action of the Government. The thoughtful and intelligent and loyal leaders of the Indian people have a cause to represent, a right to insist upon, and the interests of the people to advocate, and nothing is gained by denying them a share of the executive power in the administration of their own concerns.

Those who decide on these matters in the dark chambers of the India Office or of the Executive Councils of India, no doubt endeavour to act with moderation, with justice, and with knowledge and ability ; but it is no reflection on those high officials to state that one side of the question, the official aspect, comes more prominently to their consideration than the popular aspect ; and that financial considerations demand their attention more urgently than considerations of the rights of the people. And yet there are such things as vested rights even among the unrepresented people of India ; and half the blunders committed in India are due to the fact that there is no one to represent them ; no one to speak for them, no one to urge them, and no one to defend them, in those close

offices where they are considered. No class of officials in the world are more careful, and able, and desirous to be just than high Indian officials, from the members of the Provincial and Viceregal Executive Councils to the members of the India Council; and yet it is a fact that the interests and rights of the people do not and cannot receive adequate and full and sufficient consideration under a system of administration under which the people are absolutely unrepresented in the offices which ultimately shape their destinies. So true is the remark of John Stuart Mill that "it is an inherent condition of human affairs that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others can make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands."

In the interests of good administration, therefore, it is absolutely necessary to provide some means,—not for transferring to Indian hands the ultimate decision of Indian questions,—but for securing some representation of Indian opinion in those Executive Councils in England and in India which decide on great Indian questions. It would improve and strengthen Indian administration, and not weaken it, to have such men as the Honble. Mr. Moodeliar and the Honble. Mr. Subha Rao in the Madras Executive Council; to have the Honble. Mr. Metha in the Bombay Executive Council; and to have the Honble. Maharaja of Darbhanga in an Executive Council formed for the Government of Bengal. And it would improve British administration in India if each Indian Province sent one member to the Viceroy's Executive Council, and one member to the Council of the Secretary of State for India. It is not an unreasonable aspiration of the people of India that five of the members of the Viceroy's Executive Council, and five of the members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, should be sent up by the five great Provinces of India.

The co-operation of representative Indian members would be of great value in dealing with administrative questions, which are growing more and more difficult with the clash

of contending interests. It would be a help to the Governors of the great Provinces of Bengal and the North-West, of Madras, Bombay, and the Panjab, at all times, and specially in times of distress and alarm, to have by them some men chosen from among the people to advise and help in the administration of their own concerns. It would help the Viceroy and the Secretary of State to understand better the feelings, wishes, and interests of the people, if they were in daily personal communication with representative men from the people in their Councils. It would create a bond of sympathy, which unfortunately does not exist now, between the administration and the people whose concerns are administered. It would secure an adequate and sympathetic consideration of the interests of the people, as against the interests of particular classes, in all questions coming up before the Councils. It would strengthen the Councils in local knowledge and experience, and to some extent make them broad-based on the people's will. It would remove that worst defect of British rule in India,—a defect which is more pronounced now than it was seventy years ago, in the days of Munro and Elphinstone, Malcolm and Bentinck,—the utter want of touch between the people and their rulers. And it would substitute an intelligent and rational method of dealing with the great, loyal, and civilized population of India for a method which regards human beings as live stock, good for milking and shearing, but incapable of understanding their own interests or promoting their own well-being.

“Sedition” and “unrest” in India have attracted the attention of English administrators during the last two or three years. Will not English statesmen recognise the fact that the so-called sedition in India can only be laid to rest in the way in which it has been laid to rest in other parts of the Empire ;—by reposing trust and confidence in the people, and by conceding to them some real share in the administration of their own concerns ?

NECESSITY AND POSSIBILITY OF REFORM IN THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.*

By C. W. WHISH, Esq., I.C.S.

1. I must begin by apologising for the extremely sketchy and suggestive character of this paper, the time at my disposal for its production has been so limited that there has been no opportunity for reference of any kind. But there may be some negative advantages in the very imperfections thus deplored; the paper contains nothing but the fruit of personal experience and deliberation, and if there is any value in a production it must be derived rather from these sources than from quotation or extract.

2. I imagine that it will be readily admitted that any reforms or improvements which the near future may see in the administration of India will fall under one of two categories, first reform aiming at placing the financial stability of the Empire on a securer basis, and secondly reforms aiming at minimising the interference of the Executive with the people, and thus giving them more opportunity for that peaceful and spontaneous development of which they stand so sorely in need.

3. I think even the most pronounced adherent of the party of Progress would admit that reforms having for their object the cheapening of the administration, will require extreme caution for their introduction, in view of the enormous number of vested interests at stake, and indeed even those who most keenly feel the necessity for reform of this nature, seem almost hopeless when called upon to make any suggestions of a practical nature. But the question of relieving the people from the present almost unbearable incubus of the venal subordinate, is one which, while quite as important, presents, I think, far fewer difficulties than the other.

* For the discussion of this paper see "Proceedings of the East India Association" and "Correspondence" elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*

4. Unfortunately our administration of India, excellent as it is, and enormous as have been the benefits which it has conferred upon the country, is carried out by means which produce, at times, an almost unbearable amount of irritation in the country. I refer to the net-work of subordinate officialism, so to speak, by which the State dues are collected, and to my own special subject to-day—the police. I think that the discontent and unrest of which we have heard so much lately in India are due to conditions of this nature, which might be largely ameliorated by judicious reform, and if this be admitted, a case for action is surely made out.

5. I shall be met, of course, at the outset by the apparently unanswerable rejoinder that the subject has already been investigated by a Special Commission, which has presented its report to Government, and that action has already been taken on that report. But I can assure my hearers (and here I speak from intimate personal experience of a subject which I have studied in its practical working, with intense interest, for many years past) that the effect of the Police Commission at least in the part of India which I know has been, so far as regards the people, absolutely nil.

6. Before proceeding further, I would deprecate the idea being entertained that I intend making any sort of complaint against the Indian policeman in himself; on the contrary, considering the vicious system under which he works, I consider it absolutely marvellous that he should be as good as he is. I happened to be at New York when the Lexow committee (I think that was the name—for, as I above stated, I am writing entirely without books of reference) was sitting in that city. Of course the frightful revelations of police terrorism, which were the result of the committee's labour, were in everybody's mouth, and daily filled the morning papers. It was some time, indeed, before the public could be brought to believe that a small knot of corrupt officials had set both the Federal and State Governments at defiance, and set up a tyranny of their

own, the story of which reads more like a romance of the middle ages than an episode of civilized life in the nineteenth century. No one who has had such experiences could possibly for a moment expect an Oriental policeman to be other than human.

7. But the state of things at New York shows how absolutely necessary it is for the people of India to be protected, so to speak, against themselves by some outside agency, and it also shows how futile it is to trust to commissions to find out what really goes on under the surface of things. When the Lexow committee commenced its sittings it was absolutely unable to obtain evidence of any sort or kind, and thought it would have to report to Congress to this effect. Eventually it *did* get evidence in the following manner—it put witnesses on oath who could be proved to have knowledge of some malpractices on the part of the police, and on their asservation of total ignorance, it threatened them with prosecution for perjury, the said offence to be condoned if they made a clean breast of it. If this can be the case in civilized America, does it not prove that the down-trodden peoples of Asia must be permanently terrorised by any set of subordinate officials placed in authority over them, and that special and peculiar measures are necessary to protect them? There is one more point in this connection to which I would crave attention, and that is that these illustrations from the other side of the Atlantic show forcibly how absolutely necessary it is for the Oriental administrator to have access to sources of information other than those regular ones on which he is supposed to act. I have often been asked, on requesting the dismissal of a corrupt official whom I knew to be ruining the administration, to furnish specific proof of his misconduct, and been told that it was impossible to believe him so bad, until such evidence were forthcoming. What has proceeded may perhaps show how obvious is the reply to such strictures as these. I had received information from sources which would never have been available to me,

were it not well known that I should never make them public. I knew, of course, that I was exposing myself to the obvious criticism of resorting to "un-English" methods of espionage. But I have always had great faith in the maxim, "*Salus populi suprema Lex*," and have held any means justified by the consideration that the people could be protected in no other way.

8. My object in this paper is to suggest certain practical reforms in our Police Administrations in India which may make it unnecessary to resort to methods similar to those alluded to above. Not only is it extremely rare to find an English official who would consent to adopt such methods, but I am quite prepared to admit that it is most undesirable that they should be resorted to, if it is possible to govern in any other way. But as far as my experience goes, the people can be adequately protected, under the present system, in no other way. I might indeed add that under present conditions an administrator who affects to despise all indirect methods, and to govern an Oriental people in a straightforward manner, will usually find his power usurped by his subordinates, and his administration brought into contempt.

9. I proceed now to the enunciation of the specific reforms which I have to suggest, with the object of rendering Indian Police Administration more conducive to its real object—the good of the people. I fear I have taken up too much time in preliminary observations, but I have been endeavouring to show the necessity for reforms before making any definite proposals. I propose to consider in this place only three reforms, which appear to me to be not only most urgently required, but also to present a prospect of practical realization, they are first the enlargement of the areas of independent administration, secondly the abolition of statistical tests, and thirdly the substitution of prevention for detection of crime. On the latter subject I have already published a small pamphlet, which I regret to have mislaid.

10. I feel that it is necessary for me to explain what I

mean by enlargement of the area of independent administration. The whole of India is parcelled out into small areas, called police circles, to the charge of which is appointed an officer; called in the language of the country a "Darogha." Some of these areas are very small indeed, consisting sometimes of only a few villages each. The existence of such a very small administrative unit is, it is to be feared, productive of very grave evils. In too many cases the areas are worked without any proper co-operation, and the application to them of statistical tests furnishes results which are most misleading and unreliable. The officer in charge often connives at the ruthless harrowing of adjoining circles by the criminal classes, on condition that they abstain from committing offences within his own jurisdiction. When a number of adjoining circles act upon this plan, the resulting condition of the country-side can better be imagined than described. But this is not nearly all; bearing in mind what was possible in civilized New York, it is not difficult to imagine how a clever and unscrupulous officer can (profiting by similar circumstances, viz., the absolute ignorance which prevails as to what is going on under the surface of things) set up a galling local tyranny which practically overrides and supersedes the law. The evil would not be so great were it not for the artificial creation of crime for which (as I shall endeavour presently to show) the system of statistical tests is responsible, but it is bad enough in any case. The officer in charge of one of these local areas is expected to provide himself with a good horse and to keep up appearances generally, and he has a number of irresistible calls upon his purse to answer, of which no official account whatever is taken. He has to pay blackmail in the part of India from which I have recently come to at least five different individuals. These individuals are first his immediate superior or circle Inspector, secondly, the Rescue Inspector or officer left in charge of the headquarters of the district when the European Superintendent is out on tour; and then he has to pay the subordinates of the said super-

intendent, and probably his menial servants also, as well as those of the Deputy Inspector General and Inspector General of the Province. In most cases his payments do not end here; in the majority of districts the circle officer will have to contribute to a secret fund, from which the irregular expenses connected with the system have to be met. An instance of expenses of this nature is the dieting of witnesses who have to be kept under "surveillance" when any case in which the police are particularly interested is before the Courts.

11. Now it is absolutely impossible for the official we are considering to do all this out of the small salary which he receives—a salary even if he had no irregular demands to meet which would be ridiculously out of proportion to the power he wields. Let us consider for a moment the position of a man of good family and connections appointed to such a post. If he desires to be honest and try and live on his pay he will find that he is absolutely unable to meet the constant demands for illegal gratification. Then if he refuses to pay blackmail he will find the whole irresistible force of a corrupt service leagued against him, and he will soon be hounded out on a false charge, which will leave a stain on his good name for ever. The result naturally is that if a man of good family *did* join the Force, he yields to pressure and becomes as bad as the rest. But the most lamentable result of all is that a man of good family will never enter the service if he can possibly help it, and it thus becomes the happy hunting-ground of the unscrupulous.

12. Now what is the remedy for this appalling state of things? It seems to me one most obvious remedy is to reduce the number of these centres of oppression. I can assure my hearers that a large number of them are absolutely unnecessary, and could be abolished to-morrow without injuring the efficiency of the present system. But it is the system itself which I should like to see changed. I would roll at least half a dozen of these police circles into one, appoint a thoroughly efficient Inspector of good family

and education to the charge, and let him appoint his own subordinates if need be to outlying stations which he could not reach on horseback in a few hours. A post like this, of course, will be thoroughly well paid, and men of good family will be attracted to it, and if the number of inspecting officers could be reduced, they might be strong enough to refuse to pay illegal gratification of any kind. I am quite sure that India is very much *over-inspected*, and the elaborate system of supervision causes work to be done *in order that it should be supervised*, which would be far better left undone. Of course, this highly-paid police officer could investigate only serious cases, and all trifling ones would be referred to the Courts. It is the investigation of comparatively unimportant cases by local police officers which causes so much oppression in India, as their first idea is (naturally) to make money out of them. But if we could once get rid of the intolerable burden of crime manufactured by the police there would be abundant leisure for the investigation of all genuine cases.

13. The mention of crime manufactured by the police introduces us naturally to the second reform, *viz.*, the abolition of statistical tests. I think, if I remember right, the report of the Police Commission *did* promise us that a police officer's work was no longer to be judged by these tests. But unfortunately whatever promises were made the vicious system of statistical tests is still in full working order, and having as baleful an effect upon the administration as heretofore. Among the innumerable reports on police officers' work which I have read, I cannot call to mind one single instance in which it was recorded that the officer whose work was inspected was liked and trusted by the people! Now there are many different ways of taking bribes, and it is quite possible for an officer to take sufficient money in the way of illegal gratification to satisfy the demands made upon him from above, and yet make the welfare of the people his first care, and not the manufacture of those figures for percentage on which his superiors lay

such unaccountable store. I have known many an instance of an officer like this, striving to the best of his ability to do his duty to the people committed to his charge, and yet finding his work met with no recognition from his departmental superiors, because the inspection of his office was in some respects unsatisfactory, or because he found it impossible to comply with some unpractical statistical test. Under such a system is it to be wondered at that an upright man becomes hopelessly despondent, and an unscrupulous one sets himself deliberately to manipulate facts to his own advantage? We are thus presented with a double evil: not only are existing offences handled under conditions in which the punishment of the real offender is a comparatively unimportant object, but crime is actually manufactured! The most deplorable result of all is that the people begin to think that we no longer care for their welfare, but only for materials on which to base a *couleur de rose* report. Fortunately the remedy in this case seems comparatively easy. If the statistical tests must be retained, the Government have only to insist upon their being given a subordinate position, and on the work of a police officer being judged primarily by his general conduct and character, and not on any figured basis whatever.

14. I now come to the third and last division of the subject on which I propose to touch in this paper, viz., the subordination of detection to prevention of crime. I suppose few persons in this country can possibly imagine what an amount of hardship is inflicted on the people in this way, or the amount of discontent, and I might almost add disloyalty, to which it gives rise. In the first place, the people cannot understand how it is, with our enormously powerful machinery, we fail to protect them adequately against the criminal classes, and I fear the idea is gaining ground amongst the masses that the said machinery is really intended to coerce *them*. Secondly, when in a state of extreme irritation at a loss which rightly or wrongly they attribute to our own inefficient administration, they

are compelled, whether they wish it or not, to submit to an investigation which they know is extremely unlikely to result in anything but annoyance and still further loss to themselves. I would ask you to imagine, gentlemen, what would be said in London if a respectable householder whose house had (say) been entered by a burglar were obliged to entertain an Inspector of Police and several constables for perhaps a week or a fortnight while they were holding a so-called inquiry into his case, during the course of which the ladies of his family might be subjected to considerable indignity, and he himself compelled to leave his daily avocations in order to avail himself of what the Indian Police call (with an irony which would be ludicrous if it did not speak of so much oppression) "Permission to be present"! This expression, I must explain, is more generally understood as an euphemism for illegal arrest and detention. And yet I can assure my hearers that this is what goes on daily in India, and the extraordinary thing to me is that it should not be more generally recognised that it is and must be so as long as our system remains unchanged. I think the Government ought to proclaim, with no uncertain sound, that except in special cases no offence shall be investigated against the will of the sufferer. The trouble is that not only are real offences investigated in a manner which only causes further loss to the sufferer, but, as above stated, crimes are invented and manufactured in order that they may be investigated and convictions obtained in reference to them. I need scarcely point out that the lack of detective ability in the police, which is one urgent reason against their being employed on such work, is not shown so conspicuously in the case of manufactured as in that of real crime!

15. While conspicuously inefficient in the detection of crime it is astonishing what good results can be shown by the Indian police in the way of prevention when worked by an officer who knows what is going on under the surface of things independently of them, and who can

therefore utilize their knowledge to the full. But to carry out this good work co-operation not only between police circles, but between the districts which comprise them, is absolutely necessary. I suppose my hearers are aware that our Indian criminal law contains some excellent provisions on which is founded what is called the preventive jurisdiction of magistrates, by which persons of notoriously bad livelihood can be called upon to furnish security for their good behaviour without proof of specific crime. This part of our Indian system might, I think, be introduced with great advantage into London and other large cities. Of course, it always happens that the bigger and more influential the criminal the more difficult it is to obtain evidence against him, and it is generally absolutely impossible to do so in the district where he actually resides. It was once my good fortune to hold charge successively of several adjoining districts which had long formed a special preserve for the criminal classes. I was thus able to insure a certain amount of combined action against these pests of society, and the result showed me that co-operative action against serious crime might easily show results of the most astonishing nature, almost to the extent of stamping out the evil. I would willingly give my services gratuitously to the Indian Government in any province or portion of a province with the object of seeing if I could not, by co-operative working of these "preventive sections," eradicate violent crime within the area. Of course, the police of every district must be ready to co-operate with me, and there, of course, lies the difficulty of the scheme, which might be tried even under existing conditions. In conclusion, I trust that I have not been intemperate in my language in anything that has gone before. I did not and do not intend to complain of any officials or official institutions, but merely to draw attention to a condition of things which I consider is by no means sufficiently well known and to make certain suggestions. I do not contend that the suggestions I have made are all practically possible,

but I *do* contend that the object in view ought to command the most earnest attention of the authorities. This subject of the reform of Police Administration is one on which it would be most interesting and valuable to obtain the opinions of the mass of moderately thinking men in India who are silent through lack of a proper organ for the expression of their views. Whether the East India Association could see its way to providing such an organ, and how such an object could be obtained, are subjects which must be discussed, if at all, in a subsequent paper.

A MAHOMEDAN UNIVERSITY FOR NORTHERN INDIA.

BY J. KENNEDY, B.C.S. (RETD.)

IN the July number of the *Asiatic Quarterly* I sketched the character and achievements of Sir Syad Ahmad. I attempted to describe him as a scholar, theologian, orator, and statesman, the founder of what Sir A. C. Lyall has aptly termed the Broad Church party of Islam, and the political leader who united the Mahomedans of Northern India in new aims and novel aspirations. The Syad's lifelong views were summed up in the establishment of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, and when the Syad died, in March, 1898, his compatriots determined to honour his memory by enlarging the College, and making it the nucleus of a Mahomedan University. For the College and the future University it is proposed to raise ten lakhs of rupees (roundly speaking), or say £65,000, and subscriptions have been invited in England as well as India. The Viceroy has expressed his approval of the scheme, and contributed a handsome donation, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces has given it his active support, and the committee hope that some of the highest personages in the realm will patronize the undertaking, but it is scarcely needful to add that the success of the enterprise must depend mainly upon the Mahomedans themselves.

The M. A. O. College formed only a part of the Syad's scheme. It is certain that he looked forward to the creation at some future time of an Anglo-Mahomedan University, and the trustees, in bringing forward their present proposals, are only giving expression to his ultimate aims, whether the time be ripe or not. The project of a Mahomedan University, like many of the Syad's ideas, is novel and bold. The Universities hitherto sanctioned by the Government of India ignore both race

and religion. The Syad's scheme cuts athwart the established policy, and marks a new departure. It is natural therefore to ask what claim have the Mahomedans of Northern India to a separate University of their own? What new ideal do they propose? The trustees of the M. A. O. College have not published any official answer to these questions, but we can discover the grounds of their contention in the utterances of the leading spirits, and especially in the ideas of Sir Syad Ahmad, and their arguments may be summed up somewhat as follows:

A University implies two things: it implies a certain conception of education, and it implies a separate nationality. Different systems of education have different ideals, and require different Universities. Moreover, every nation has its own traditions, and its own distinct ideals of culture. It would be impossible to unite the nations of Europe under the ample folds of any single University, and what is impossible in Europe, with its centralising tendencies, is impossible among the manifold divisions of the East. It is worth while to examine these propositions in detail.

We are all familiar with two types of the University. There is the Examining University, of which the London University is the simplest and most perfect example. There is also the Teaching University, the system of education pursued at the great historic seats of learning, Oxford and Cambridge. The first is modern, the second immemorial. The Indian Universities belong for the most part to the first class, the M. A. O. College to the second.

I have said that the Examining University is a purely modern conception. I might have added that it is purely utilitarian, or commercial if you will. With culture in the truest sense it has nothing to do. It cannot, it does not, profess to train character by an atmosphere of intellectual refinement or the association of learned men. Various professions—law, medicine, engineering, theology—require a certain amount of theoretic knowledge, and the Examining University supplies the standard. In Scotland there are

certain examinations at the end of the school curriculum, and the scholars are rewarded by "leaving school" certificates which have a certain commercial value. The degrees of the London University are precisely "leaving school" certificates, but in a higher degree. They denote that the age of apprenticeship is passed. Or to give another illustration: When the contractor has furnished the Railway Engineer with the iron girders of a bridge, the Engineer cuts out certain portions and submits them to tests. He places them in the hydraulic machine; their tension, their elasticity, their breaking point is noted. The Examining University does the same. It tests the strain the students will bear, their adaptiveness, their breaking point where knowledge fails. Now the Indian Universities are in the main Examining Universities. Not altogether, because in certain cases—as, for instance, at Allahabad—the students must attend College classes, and are brought into some degree of living contact with the Professors. But to a very large extent they belong to the type of the Examining Universities. And this has been unavoidable. The materials for any other system have been wanting.

There is little wonder, then, that Indian Universities do not represent the true culture, or the intellectual aspirations of the people. They are frequented by candidates for Government employment, budding lawyers who look hopefully for a seat on the bench, youths destined to be schoolmasters when other occupations fail. He is a rare scholar who has no ulterior purpose. But true instances of culture exist, I had almost said abound, in India, only they are outside the Universities. There are many admirable scholars of Arabic and Sanskrit content to live in obscurity. I might cite the case of that unknown scholar who performed the Herculean task of translating the Mahabharat into English, and left the honour, the profits, and even the title page to another. The Pundits of Benares pursue their studies in philosophy undisturbed by the bacillus of the examination pest. Or to quote a still more apposite in-

stance, I know a little country town in the Saharanpur District in which there flourishes a considerable College of Mahomedan theology and Arabic philosophy. No Educational Inspector has crossed its threshold, no grant in aid has ever made it happy ; but the students are numerous, and, like the mediæval students of Oxford and Germany, they beg their living from door to door. And some of the Professors were once high in Government employ, and have resigned rich appointments to pass their days in teaching, and their lives on a pittance. Clearly there exists in India a love of culture, a desire of learning for learning's sake alone, which the Universities with their professional diplomas and their "leaving school" certificates do not attempt to satisfy. They are regarded as mercenary and utilitarian, and simple-minded souls who look for knowledge undefiled pass by on the other side. The ideals of culture in each case are utterly different.

Again, so far as nationality exists in India, it is based upon religion. All the religions of the country are semi-political ; they have different histories, different ideals, and religious ties are the strongest of any. The Mahomedans of Northern India in especial form a group apart. They have great traditions. For 600 years they ruled Hindostan ; they furnished the official nobility ; the army and the administration were recruited from them ; they had their own Colleges and Kazis and great saints, who were also great political leaders. Their studies were illumined by the learning of Damascus, and the poetry of Persia found a home in Delhi and Lahore. These traditions are not forgotten, these memories still linger, and the Mahomedans of Northern India rightly demand that the new learning of the West shall not effect a complete breach of continuity with the past. In earlier and happier days for the Mahomedans, the Universities of Cordova and Damascus drew their inspiration from Rome and Greece, and gave back to Europe stores of learning enriched by Arabic philosophy and science. Is it impossible to repeat the process ? to fuse Western

thought and science with Mahomedan tradition? If it be possible, it can only be effected through the Mahomedans themselves, and through the creation of Colleges specially adapted to those ideals of moral training and culture which they have saved from the shipwreck of their Empire as an heirloom and inalienable treasure.

The M. A. O. College at Aligarh was designed to meet these wants. It represents the union of the East and the West. European science taught by Englishmen is to flourish side by side with Mahomedan learning, and Western ideas to march hand in hand with Moslem tradition. Moreover, the M. A. O. College has been modelled after the pattern of Oxford and Cambridge. The Professors live with the pupils, superintend their studies, sit at their table, join in their sports, and exercise that moral influence which is fatally absent in the usual curriculum of an Indian undergraduate. Prayers are daily recited in the mosque, and an atmosphere of learning is growing up around the College. Elderly Mahomedans who have passed their days in high offices of State retire to Aligarh to spend the evening of their lives in the College society, as in a literary restaurant. An air of intellectual tolerance and culture pervades the place.

Truly a daring experiment, and the marvel is that it has—to a certain extent, at any rate—succeeded. After twenty-three years the College can boast that it has broken down popular prejudice, and possesses over 500 students. It has turned out some excellent pupils, and secured the enthusiastic support of the leading intellects and the most enlightened portion of the Mahomedan world in Northern India. It contains the nucleus of that teaching University which is urgently required. Its design is excellent, but in other respects it is at present far from equal to so great an undertaking. Sir Syad Ahmad died when the College was labouring under a succession of misfortunes. A clerk had embezzled nearly a lakh of rupees, two English Professors of long standing had left, and a third, a young gentleman of much promise, is dead. The proposal for a new University

is started at a time when the European staff of the M. A. O. College numbers one Principal and two Professors. Edinburgh University began with a single Regent, who combined all Professorships and Faculties in himself.

It is clear, then, that men and funds are urgently needed, and that for some time to come everything must be subordinated to the consolidation of the existing College. It has room for 1,000 pupils, and 12 or 15 European, with double that number of native, Professors, and until this standard is reached it will probably be useless to ask for a Charter. The trustees have not published any programme of the University they desire to establish, and they have perhaps acted wisely, seeing that the consummation is still very distant. But the general character of the proposed University is indicated by the conditions of the case, and by the published letters or speeches of Messrs. Beck, Twining, Ruffin, Ahmad, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. The proposed University is to be a teaching University, its nucleus the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, its aims the aims of Sir Syad Ahmad. It will freely model itself after Oxford and Cambridge; it will reject the cast-iron system of the Indian Universities; it will encourage specialization, and devote greater attention to Oriental studies. With the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, the Mahomedan Colleges in the Punjab and Calcutta will, it is hoped, affiliate themselves. Such a University would undoubtedly do much for the enlightened study of Oriental literature, and more especially of Mahomedan philosophy and law. There is no reason why it should not rival Allahabad in science, and engineering might well be taught at Aligarh. For a medical training no facilities exist, and the proposal to found chairs of, and grant degrees in, Mahomedan theology, is beset with difficulties, although not perhaps impracticable. It will be time enough to discuss details when any official programme is before the world.

At the outset two formidable obstacles must be overcome. It must be shown that the Allahabad University is not

sufficiently elastic to adapt itself to the needs of the M. A. O. College. The Allahabad University is the youngest of the Indian Universities ; it inclines more closely to the type of a teaching University than the older establishments do ; it encourages specialization, and although it can never give full scope to the aspirations of the Mahomedan world, some portion of them at least may ripen to maturity under its aegis. If indeed the Mahomedan Colleges of the Punjab and Calcutta can be brought into line with the M. A. O. College at Aligarh, the horizon will be greatly widened, and the prospect of a Charter brought much nearer. The affiliation of these Colleges is necessarily the first step towards the realization of the scheme.

The constitution of the M. A. O. College itself is the second and the more pressing difficulty. Three parties are keenly interested in the matter—the Mahomedan subscribers, the trustees, and the European staff. The subscribers are enthusiastic, and the staff is loyal. The difficulty lies with the trustees. To speak plainly, it is necessary that they lay aside their rivalries, and recognise the fact that no single individual can hold the position held by Sir Syad Ahmad. Sir Syad Ahmad was trusted by all parties ; he had proved himself worthy of that trust, and he was therefore able to concentrate all authority in himself. Many men are ready to play the rôle of a despot, but it is not given to everyone to wear the mantle of a genius. There must be a redistribution of powers, and the teaching staff must have a greater share in the management of the College ; it must be allowed a voice in the management of affairs such as that which Professors enjoy in European Colleges and Universities. The M. A. O. College owes more to the Principal, Mr. Theodore Beck, than to any other individual after Sir Syad Ahmad, and some Mahomedan gentlemen have already proposed his nomination as Joint Secretary. Nothing else probably will make so much for the efficiency of the College or its ultimate success. The Lt.-Governor of the N. W. P. has recently visited Aligarh ;

Mr. La Touche is intimately acquainted with the internal condition of the College, and he will be able, if anyone can, to compose the disputes which have arisen. That these divisions are merely temporary one must not doubt, nor can there be any fear for the future as long as Mr. Beck is Principal. He has identified himself with the College in a way few Englishmen could have done, and has devoted to it a rare enthusiasm and ability. It now remains for the trustees to show that they have inherited not only the name, but the spirit, the wisdom, moderation, and disinterestedness of the illustrious founder.

POSTSCRIPT.—The results of Mr. La Touche's visit to the M. A. O. College were not known when the last paragraph was penned. These results have been of the happiest kind. According to a writer in the *Pioneer Mail* of July 29, "it is not too much to say that the visit of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of these Provinces to Aligarh has completely changed the position and prospects of the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College. Financial embarrassment of the gloomiest kind has been converted into prosperity, and discord has been converted into harmony."

First. The subscription-list, which stood at less than Rs. 60,000, now exceeds four lakhs, chiefly through the munificent donation of an estate worth three lakhs, made to the College by Ahmed Said Khan, Talukdar of Bhikampur.

Second. The claims of the opposition party have been finally settled, there has been a redistribution of powers and of offices, and harmony has been restored among the trustees.

Third. The subscribers have been assured not only of the interest which the Government took in the success of the College (for that they knew already), but of the favour with which it regards their claim to a special University. The project has been fairly started, and it deserves the good wishes and the support of all who are striving to bring about a *rapprochement* between Englishmen and our fellow-subjects in the East.

Since the above was written, we have received the following communication from Mr. Parker Smith, M.P., as Treasurer in England of the "*Syed Ahmad Memorial Fund.*"

Jordanhill, Glasgow,
1st Sept., 1898.

SIR,

I am glad to have been favoured with an advance proof of Mr. Kennedy's article on a Mahomedan University. I agree entirely in his views and should like to quote in support of them from the letter recently written by the Viceroy intimating a subscription of Rs. 2,000.

In founding the Aligarh College Sir Syed Ahmad set before the Mahomedan community a high ideal of the objects at which education should aim. He endeavoured to provide not merely for instruction, but also for the formation of character, for the encouragement of manly pursuits, for the promotion of a feeling of self-respect among the students, and for fostering among them an active sense of their duty as loyal subjects of the Queen-Empress. In the attainment of these objects a great measure of success has been secured; and I consider that it would be a misfortune of no small magnitude for the Mahomedan community, not only in the North-Western Provinces but throughout India, if the usefulness of the College were diminished, or the scope of its activity curtailed by the pressure of financial or administrative difficulties.—*Pioneer*, 26th July, 1898.

The correspondence published in the *Pioneer Mail* of 5th August shows that by the assistance of the Lieutenant-Governor the difficulties among the trustees have been settled and that there is every prospect of the constitution of the College being established on a satisfactory footing.

The same *Pioneer* gives an account of the very cordial reception given to a deputation from the College by H.H. the Nawab of Rampur, who gave Rs. 50,000 in land to be spent in equal proportions upon the education of Sunnis and Shiahs, and increased the annual grant of the College from Rs. 1,200 to Rs. 2,400 a year as a permanent endowment.

At the request of my friend Mr. Beck I undertook to receive subscriptions in this country, and have received a few. I hope that a committee will shortly be formed to bring the matter more actively before those who will take

an interest in the subject, and I should be very glad to receive the names of any persons willing to join such a committee.

In the meantime contributions may be sent either to myself or to the account of the Syed Ahmad Memorial Fund at the Union Bank of Scotland, 62, Cornhill, London, E.C.

I am, sir, yours obediently,

J. PARKER SMITH,
M.P. for Lanarkshire (Partick).

Note.—From a fuller report of the proceedings subsequently received, it appears that the gift of the Bhikampur Estate to the College has not yet been executed, and will not, in any case, come into effect until the death of the donor. We observe with pleasure that several donations have already been received from English friends in England, including a contribution of £200 from Lord Stanley of Alderley.—*Ed.*

ALEXANDER GARDNER: SOLDIER AND TRAVELLER.*

BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERIC I. GOLDSMID,
K.C.S.I., C.B., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.

THE progress of exploration effected by Englishmen during the long and memorable reign of their Empress-Queen will, doubtless, at some future and fitting period, be welded by literary craftsmen into a popular history, in which appropriate place will be given to each explorer whose claims admit of the honour. If the supposed record necessitate co-operation in labour, it will demand also more than ordinarily competent editorship to secure for it harmonious integration, and prevent its becoming a series of biographies—a result which could scarcely commend itself to the sensible English reader. At the same time, few will deny that biography in every shape—whether presented in handsomely got-up octavos, or scattered piece-meal in magazines and journals—will be a main essential to the composition of a work on the scale contemplated: for although in the historical retrospect, the personal narrative of the explorer may meet with less consideration from the practical student than the report of the region explored, it is manifest that the service of individuals in throwing light upon the world's geography should be recognised, and palms awarded to the deserving only. Of course it must be borne in mind that there are explorers and explorers; and that there is much exploration which, however well-intended, is not scientific exploration. But if the exercise of energy, courage, and intelligence on the part of one member of a roving mission tend to the better utilisation of the scientific qualifications

* Soldier and Traveller. Memoirs of Alexander Gardner, Colonel of Artillery in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, edited by Major Hugh Pearse, with an introduction by the Right Hon. Sir Richard Temple, Bart., G.C.S.I., with portrait and maps. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

possessed by another, the share of neither can be ignored. The question is a wide one ; and although it is not proposed to discuss it at the present time in any detail, we venture to think it will not be found irrelevant to the notice of a volume of remarkable adventure to which we would invite the reader's attention. It relates the singular experiences of one whose life's work has hitherto been more or less a sealed book to the million, and whose name is not even traceable in the pages of popular biography : but of one whose rough and incomplete jottings are of sufficient interest to call for resuscitation.

The story of the manuscript memoir now reproduced is almost as exciting as that of its hero (from which it is indeed inseparable). In its incompleteness there is something sensational and mysterious : but fortunately its genuine character is supported on no weak or unreliable evidence. Thirty-four years ago, Mr. Frederick Cooper, C.B., who had been deputed on a special duty to Kashmir, made the acquaintance of an old "Commandant or Colonel of Artillery," named Gardner, then residing at Srinagar. The veteran, though verging on his eightieth year, was a truly interesting companion ; one who could not only draw upon memory for the events of an out-door life of strange and varied experience in both hemispheres, but who had himself prepared a written narrative of the late years of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and of the period immediately succeeding his death, such as personal knowledge alone could corroborate. Mr. Cooper, from "a series of conversations" with Gardner, appears to have put together a rough draft of the latter's wanderings, corrected by the narrator himself up to the period when he left the Pamirs ; but he never lived to accomplish the full record. We are told, moreover, that for some years after this officer's death, "the unfinished work and Gardner's own manuscripts entirely disappeared." How it happens that within the last five years the papers, or any particular portion of them came into the hands of the present editor, Major Hugh

Pearse, explanation is not afforded; but that gentleman certainly deserves great credit for his arrangement of them in consecutive order and continuous form. The opinion of Sir Richard Temple, who supplies an introduction to the whole narrative, that they are exhibited "in a lucid and satisfactory manner," and indicate the exercise of "good care and skill," will readily be indorsed by impartial readers and critics.

As to geographical value, the volume possesses a *prima facie* interest from the recorded favourable judgment of three exceptionally high (perhaps the three highest English) authorities on Central Asia—Yule, Rawlinson, and Ney Elias. All have passed away from among us; but all belong to our own day, and it is only in quite recent years that we have had to mourn their loss. Gardner was spoken of by the late Sir Henry Yule as a man who had had personal acquaintance with Badakhshan and the Pamirs "to a degree, it is believed, surpassing that of any European or native traveller whose narratives had been published." Sir Henry Rawlinson, in 1872, expressed his conviction that Gardner had "actually traversed the Gilgit valley from the Indus to the Snowy Mountains," finally crossing into Chitral; and Mr. Ney Elias has capped the testimony of both the above-named distinguished officers by his own weighty evidence—evidence, be it remembered, of one of whom Major Pearse says, with truth and discrimination, that his "invincible modesty alone prevented his being known as one of the greatest of English travellers, and one of the highest authorities on Eastern geography." We do not now propose to show that the work performed tends either to assert or refute Col. Gardner's claim to belong to the army of geographers. That claim may be safely left to the judgment of the Royal Geographical Society. From a primary glance at his pages some critics might question whether these had substantially added to the stock of information already acquired in England on the interesting regions to which they refer, or indeed whether they come within

the category of books of travel at all. The writer, they might not unreasonably argue, had had too little leisure to treat things in a scientific aspect. He had been so handicapped by adventure and strong personal incident that it would be as unnatural to expect from him a sober inquiry into the earth's problems, as to hope that the delivery of an address on charity by a desert Sheikh would arrest the progress of that Sheikh's followers in the course of a marauding expedition. The enforced irregularity of his daily life might be held to disqualify him from becoming a guide or instructor to his fellow-men in any branch of civilized education. But let us turn to an analysis of the book itself as it has come before us.

One unbroken passage from Sir Richard Temple's Introduction, not too lengthy for extract, will render intelligible such comments as we may have occasion to make on the whole memoir :

"Alexander Gardner was born in 1785 in North America, on the shore of Lake Superior, and died at Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, in 1877. His father was a Scottish emigrant to the then British colonies of North America, who took part in the War of Independence. His mother was an Englishwoman resident in South America, and had an admixture of Spanish blood. Her distinguished son wrote of her in terms of the highest admiration. He inherited an adventurous disposition from both sides, paternal and maternal. He sought first for a position in the Russian service, but accidentally lost it on the eve of attainment. Then he crossed the Caspian Sea, and entered on a career of adventure in Central Asia, from Kokan across the Hindu Caucasus to Herat, amidst ambuscades, fierce reprisals, hairbreadth escapes, alternations between brief plenty and long fasting—amidst episodes sometimes of brutality and cruelty well-nigh inconceivable, at other times of hearty charity and fidelity unto death. For some time he was prominent in the service of Habib-Ullah Khan, the first Afghan opponent of the great Dost Muhammad Khan. During two years he actually enjoyed a term of domestic happiness, when he was peaceful indoors though generally at war out-of-doors. This was the one oasis in the wild desert of his whole life. To the last he could never refer to it without tears, case-hardened as he was, with his memory seared by many horrors, and his vision hardened by looking at terrors in the face. It met with a bloody and piteous termination; and then for some time he had to get through an existence fraught with extremity of hardship and of crisis, during which he was preserved by his own intrepidity and penetration. At length he succeeded in entering the Panjab, being engaged in the service of

Afghan chiefs who held Peshawar, and who were subdued by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. While there he received a command to enter Ranjit Singh's service and proceeded to Lahore. He was employed in the Maharaja's service as Commandant of Artillery for several years. Then he was transferred to the service of Dhyani Singh, the Prime Minister, a Rajput of the Lower Himalayas, who with his brother, the famous Gulab Singh, became the chief feudatories of the Sikh sovereignty. He made the acquaintance of Henry Lawrence, then a rising political officer at Peshawar, at the time of the British disasters at Kabul in 1841. After Dhyani Singh's death he served Gulab Singh alone. He witnessed, or was in close contact with, the sanguinary revolutions that followed one after another upon the death of Ranjit. He was at Lahore during the first Panjab war in 1845-46. He then returned to the territories of Gulab Singh, who became sovereign of Jammu and Kashmir. He died a pensioner under Gulab Singh's successor in Kashmir at the advanced age of about ninety years. His constitution, originally magnificent, must have become somewhat worn out by the severe vicissitudes of a long career, and he dreamed the evening of his life away."

If we pause to take cognizance of the periods which supply the more suitable landmarks in the above biographical summary, we may suppose the first to terminate with Gardner's arrival at Herat—that is, extending from 1785 to 1819: the second to commence with his departure from Herat, and terminating with his entering the Panjab—or from 1819 to 1831; and the third to comprise his active employment under high local authorities, such as Muslim and Sikh chiefs and commanders—or from 1831 to the death of Ranjit Singh, and up to the annexation of the Panjab to British India in 1849. From that date to 1877, the year of his demise, the remainder of Gardner's career bears rather the character of an epilogue to history than of history itself.

A passing glance will suffice to dispose of the first of the three divisions adopted. The whole story is contained in a single chapter—the second—one out of sixteen, which make up the volume. The designation "early life and travel," explains its purport: and it may be said to inaugurate, in an appropriate manner, the record of an erratic personality. Born of British parents in the neighbourhood of Lake Superior, taken in infancy to Mexico, and trained at the Jesuit school of St. Xavier near the Colorado river,

Gardner passed over, in early manhood, from the Western to the Eastern hemisphere, and is found at the age of thirty-four at Herat, about to start on what is called "his first journey in the wilds of Central Asia." But it was far from being the first journey he had made in other parts, before taking this new departure. Such express limitations would strike out of the diary of travel a mysterious disappearance for five years—or from 1807 to 1812 (alleged to have been occasioned by a long, unexplained visit to Ireland), at the close of which the wanderer is reported to have "landed" at New Orleans. It would, moreover, give him no credit for a voyage from Philadelphia to Lisbon and Madrid, prolonged *viâ* Cairo, to Trebizond and Astrakhan and again extended from Astrakhan to the capital of Western Afghanistan. Perhaps this last-noted diversion from European routes, including as it did, an experience of the eastern shores of the Caspian, whence Gardner and his travelling-companions worked their way to Asterabad—the former continuing, single-handed, to Herat—was not altogether out of touch with the Asiatic "wilds" towards which he shortly afterwards turned. But, then, it was only a matter of 1,500 miles, or so, accomplished in, more or less, three months; whereas the whole section now treated involves a vast extent of land and sea, traversed without the aid of steamer or railway, and taking up a period of seven years. In these "advanced" days the white men of Europe think little of such journeys, for, before even breaking ground on their expeditions, they read up the subject in books, and examine sketches or photos of the place and people described. But eighty years ago the situation in the East was not so clearly understood as at present; the Khans of *Khiva* and *Bukhara* were not dependent on Western influences; and the possession of *Ashurada* had not foreshadowed Russian sovereignty over the Turkman—though Persia had suffered from Muscovite encroachments west of the Caspian. Egypt was in those days, it is true, the quasi-Adullamite rendezvous of the

world's adventurers, especially those who hailed from Southern Europe and the Levant; but Cairo, when Gardner was there, under the régime of Muhammad Ali, could have presented few indications of becoming the fashionable and favourite resort of European invalids and pleasure-seekers which is in a considerable degree, the *fin de siècle* character it has since attained, independently of political considerations.

The preliminary stage in Gardner's journey on the occasion now alluded to, is recounted entirely in his own words, and supplies material for the first of seven chapters which belong to this particular section of his career. To a certain extent it is disappointing, for it brings him back to Astrakhan just as we have been anticipating new scenery and new people, to say nothing of more adventure in Asiatic "wilds." Leaving Herat with a party of some hundred travellers whose objective was the city of Kúndúz, he marched with his companions for 16 days at the rate of eight or ten miles a day, according to the custom of the *Kafila*—a process which, in spite of his training and experience, must have appeared to him slow. He did not, however, remain long with the main body of his caravan. They parted company somewhere to the north of the Hazara region, and Gardner passed from the *habitat* of a mountain tribe called "Khalzai" to that of the "Therbah"—a tribe which "wanders about the sandy wastes south of Merv." The former he describes as "devout Muham-madans," dwellers in caves, "low-sized, but stout and active, of a florid complexion with brown or dark-red hair and beard." Of the comeliness and activity of their women he writes in glowing terms. As to the "Therbah," the tribe is said to be of Kafir descent, who maintain friendly relations with their neighbours the Khalzais, and understand each other's dialect: they "intermarry with the Siah-posh Kafirs who inhabit the Eastern Hindu Kush ranges, but the pride of the latter tribe does not permit them to give their daughters in return." It is also said of the

Therbah, that he is "a half savage, worships the sun and moon, fire and water, and resembles in some respects the scattered remnants of the Guebers of Persia." Our traveller professes to have been treated with much friendship and hospitality by Therman Khan, the chief, and his son, Ibrahim, and states that on his expressing the wish to proceed to Merv, the latter was deputed to accompany him with an escort. At Merv, this protection was exchanged for that of a Turkman chief named Shah Mardak, but after roaming about on his own responsibility for some days in an easterly direction, Gardner made a forced march to Andékhui, whence he pushed on north-east to Khiva, remaining in the neighbourhood of that town until recovery from sickness contracted on the road. When convalescent he was joined by a quondam travelling companion, a German named Struvsky, with whom he crossed the steppe to Alexandrovsk, and there took ship for Astrakhan.

The journey from the region of the Hindu Kush to this notable port, the bountiful portion of which is the double commerce of the Volga and Caspian*—had not been altogether uneventful, but the occurrences were such as might well have been anticipated. The hero of the narrative travelled under the name of Arb Shah, and was a *soi-disant* native of Arabia; presumably, we conclude, a Muslim, though at one moment selected as a subject for barter, and bid for by a slave-dealer. Perhaps the most interesting incident connected with it was the meeting at Andékhui with a merchant of great natural intelligence and generous instincts, one Urd Khan, the leading member of a caravan, who not only succoured the wandering stranger

* The present writer thus reports his experience of this city, when there in 1870, as noted in a diary: "Strange that no postage stamps should be procurable at Astrakhan, a place of much the same comparative commercial note in Russia as Leith or Hull, if not Glasgow or Liverpool. . . . Its quays and wharves abound with traffic; its boats are assuredly to be reckoned by thousands; its inhabitants are mixed and various, and strictly commercial or working. Yet my host avers they could not get me three stamps of 30 kopecks each!"

in the hour of danger, but supplied him with means to meet his daily wants and housed and tended him when stricken with brain fever. It affords a pleasing instance how the Christian virtues of chivalry and charity may be practised by others than the typical Samaritan. The names *Therbah* and *Therman* are somewhat perplexing, though both, as well as *Khalzai*, should be identified if accurately transliterated.* The "Dai Kundi Hazaras" referred to in a footnote (p. 31) are doubtless the "Deh Kundi" of Burnes, whom Macgregor is probably quoting when he reports that they "muster 12,000 fighting men." But Masson's remark on the Afghan "Ghilzais" is suggestive in respect of these "Khalzais." He says that, "although considered and calling themselves Afghans, and moreover employing the Pukhtu or Afghan dialect," they are "undoubtedly a mixed race." In their recognised name he detects "a modification or corruption of that of Khalji or Khilagi, that of a great Turki tribe." If we further modify Khalji into Khalzai or *vice versa*, the step would surely need no elaborate justification : but whether or no Gardner's description of the tribe could apply to any members of the now known Afghan Ghilzais is another question into which we have no space to enter at the present time.

At Astrakhan Gardner fell in with M. Delaroche, a son of one of his maternal aunts, who did him friendly service in recovering some moneys due to him, which for certain unexplained causes had been attached by the Russian government authorities. In the course of the year 1820, both of his friends took their departure, but he himself remained at Astrakhan until the beginning of 1823. During his stay there, it is added that he "apparently spent or lost his small fortune."

Many men whose destiny had led them to be sojourners,

* For example, if *kh* were the double-dotted *k*, often dropped at the beginning of a spoken word, and *z* the undotted *d* (a likely enough *erratum*), we should have, for *Khalzai*, *Aldai*—a division of the tribe of Deh Chopan Hazaras mentioned especially by both Burnes and Léech.

if not residents at Astrakhan, would wonder that a city presenting so few attractions to the civilized traveller from Western Europe should have so baneful an effect upon one who, if a soldier of fortune, was not without a wide experience of his fellows : but they would hardly feel surprise that, after these results, Gardner should become "restless, and, in the month of February, again set out on his Asiatic travels." The situation is well explained in the following passage :

"He could not," he says, "rest in civilized countries, and being free from family ties, was persuaded that he would find happiness among wild races and in exploring unknown lands. Realizing, therefore, the scant remains of his fortune, Gardner embarked for the last time on the Caspian Sea. He had determined to lose his identity as soon as possible, and particularly to cast off all connection with Russia, a step that was essential to his safety, as that nation was much hated and dreaded at the period in question by all the tribes and peoples between the Caspian Sea and the city of Khiva."

His relative, M. Delaroche, had wished to obtain employment for him under the Imperial Government ; but he had declined the opportunity, preferring to remain his own master. Inconsistently enough, he had chosen his Capua in the very land he so disliked.

If there was lack of startling incident in the journey to Astrakhan from the Southward, and the halt which succeeded it, the same could not be said of the remainder of the division to which these matters belong. From leaving the Northern shores of the Caspian in the late winter of 1823, to entry into the Panjab in the summer of 1831, Gardner's career was replete with adventure. His biographer writes, no doubt, advisedly, when he asserts, in reference to these eight and a half years, "that few men had undergone such perils and travelled such long distances through unknown countries." In supplying a rough outline of the narrative for the period specified, we propose to dwell shortly upon the historical questions which it involves ; but the reader must refer to the volume itself if he wishes to certify its interest and romance.

Exchanging his Russian furs for the peaked cap, *postin*, drawers, boots, and leg bandages of an Uzbek, and resuming his *nom de voyage* of Arb Shah, Gardner passed across the steppes from the Caspian to the Aral; and after a most difficult crossing of the latter sea, landed in a dangerous swamp at the mouth of a river on its south-east shore. From this point, we are told that he and two or three fellow-travellers proceeded for a short distance up the river bank, and then struck off to the Eastward in the direction of Khojand. But this important place, as known to us in the map of Central Asia, must be, at least, 500 miles from the sea of Aral; so that those members of the party who were actually bound thither had a long journey before them. Unfortunately we have no dates to instruct us on the month or season in which they eventually did reach the vicinity of Khojand and Uratépé; but we learn from the autobiographical portion of the MS. as well as the Editor's researches, that Gardner was at this particular time joined by his former servant, the faithful Thebah, and one Agha Beg, a mysterious French-speaking adventurer of uncertain nationality; that they all fell among thieves in the persons of the Uratépé chief and a band of roving Kipchiks; that they not only had to submit to robbery and extortion on the part of professional bandits, but were driven to become freebooters and marauders on their own account; and that it must have been well on in the year when they were able to cross the Oxus at the first practicable spot above Hazrat Imám, and from thence head towards Kabul. The meeting with Habib Ullah, son of Dost Muhammad's elder brother, Muhammad Azim Khan, in the Kohistan, soon after Gardner's entry into Afghanistan; his attachment to the service of that ill-starred chief—to which we shall presently revert—and his later experiences in Badakhshan, among the Kirghiz, on the Pamirs, and in Yarkand, Gilgit, Chitral and Kafiristan; give occasion to scenes of a highly romantic and stirring character. The story of his marriage with an Afghan lady, of whom he chanced to obtain sight

when engaged in the capture of a princess of Dost Muhammad's house, is a curious and interesting item of adventure ; and the subsequent death of his wife and child are sad and prominent events in his personal record. According to the statement in the text, the Barakzai family struggle for power was not quite over in March 1826, but no sooner had it terminated in the utter defeat of the Dost's ambitious nephew, than the latter and his devoted foreign adherent separated. Habib Ullah "returned to his stronghold in an inaccessible place near Parwan, and there with his own hands slew his wives and female slaves" ; and Gardner became a fugitive. But his own report of himself may be quoted :

"The days which immediately followed the departure of Habib Ullah Khan seem a wild and sickening dream. I was wounded in the neck and leg, and my companions were all more or less disabled. Our party only numbered eight souls. The greatest danger attended any appearance on our part on the northern plains. There was nothing before us but to plunder and support life. Our whole property amounted to the value of nine or ten annas in copper coins, called Kohistani *serubs*. To light a fire by day was certain discovery, and we had to contend against damp clouds and cold sleet."

For the next four years much of his time was spent in Eastern Turkistan. We have already mentioned some of the principal places that he visited, but there is too much confusion as to the period and order of the visits to attempt a detailed retrospect. Following the precisely fixed years and seasons, we find him passing the winter of 1826 with the "hospitable robber-chief Shah Bahadur Beg," and taking leave of him when setting out for Yarkand in the spring of 1827. Sixteen pages later, we note his arrival at Kandahar in the spring of 1830. He appears to have returned to Afghanistan from Srinagar in Kashmir, on hearing a report that the star of his late chief was again in the ascendant, and to have chosen a difficult route thither by Chitral and Kafiristan. At Girishk, after leaving Kandahar, he was seized and thrown into a dungeon, where he was "kept for nine months a prisoner beneath

ground." Later on, he remained, with the Amir's permission, for a few days only, at Kabul, but left that city towards the close of January 1831 and moved, by Jalalabad, to Bajaur, where he possessed a friend in the person of the ruler Mir Alam Khan. This chief proposed that Gardner should head a body of fanatics who had espoused the cause of the notorious Sayyid Ahmad, the fierce opponent of the Sikh Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The proposal was accepted; but before a junction of forces could be effected, the Sayyid was slain in fight. During the summer our "soldier and traveller," invited by Sultan Muhammad Khan, brother to Dost Muhammad, to enter his service as Commandant of artillery, took up his residence at Peshawar, then practically a portion of the Panjab.

The remainder of Colonel Gardner's narrative, whether told by his biographer or himself, supplies a valuable and interesting chapter to Oriental history, and may be safely recommended to the student from the light it throws both on the ways and methods of native States, and on the annals of the British Indian Empire. But this second part of an exceptional career is, in respect of the hero, comparatively of a sedentary description, of which the interest is concentrated in one particular quarter—not scattered as heretofore over steppes and black and red sand deserts, the defiles of Afghanistan, and the mountains and valleys of Eastern Turkistan. Moreover, Ranjit Singh and the Sikhs are not wanting in their own special historians; and it need scarcely be added that Sir Richard Temple's Introduction to the whole narrative before us contains pertinent and appropriate comments by an able commentator on politics and events current in the Panjab at the period to which reference is made.

A word, in conclusion, on the historical questions involved in the Memoir. As before shown, there is a great want of dates wherewith to connect the Colonel's wanderings into a consecutive and complete relation: but help may be readily obtained by reference to available

contemporary records. Oriental history is, at best, a monotonous and complicated study. That of Afghanistan by Malleson and that of the Afghans by Ferrier are, perhaps, the most convenient volumes for ordinary reference to those who seek acquaintance with the more modern chronicles of Herat, Kabul and Kandahar—at times to be regarded as independent States, at times little more than dependent Provinces. But the student must have a clear head and good memory: otherwise he will fall into confusion from the multiplicity of names which present themselves to his notice, and the relationship to each other of the holders of these. He must bear in mind that Ali Muhammad is altogether distinct from Muhammad Ali, that Muhammad Khan has no affinity whatever with Mahmud Khan, and so forth. Chapter V. of the Gardner memoir usefully repeats to us that Ahmad Shah, Saduzai, was crowned king of the Afghans in 1747, and that he died as Ahmad Shah Durani in 1771; that he was succeeded by his son Timur, who reigned 20 years, and was succeeded by his son Shah Zamān, who was blinded and deposed in 1799; that Shah Zamān's brother and successor Mahmud, was set aside in 1803 in favour of his brother Shah Shuja, on the occasion of whose exile in 1811 the power of the Saduzai clan broke down before that of the Barakzai; and that although Shah Shuja was reinstated by British help in 1839, he was murdered in 1842, and that soon afterwards Dost Muhammad Barakzai became virtually ruler of the country. The above outline, confirmed by English and native authorities, embraces very nearly one hundred years. Were the minor events to be recorded, the names of the *dramatis personæ* taking prominent parts would be "Legion." According to the *Tarikhi Ahmedi*, or local chronicle, Timur Shah had four sons besides the three who enjoyed sovereignty; and the Barakzai Sirdars, brothers and half-brothers of Dost Muhammad, sons of Paiyanda Khan, were no fewer than eighteen in number, forming five families. Of these last Muhammad Azim Khan was the second in seniority. He

had risen at one time to normally sovereign power ; but Fortune did not favour him at home or in the field. After the battle of Naushahra, in which he was defeated by Ranjit Singh, his health gave way, and he died on the road to Kabul. His eldest son Habib Ullah Khan was acknowledged as his successor, and he it was to whom Gardner tendered his services in the Kohistan. According to Ferrier, Muhammad Azim Khan had left the young chief no less a sum than £2,700,000, making him swear he would employ it and his life in revenging his father's defeat and the misfortunes of his country. In the words of the same historian, "the courage of Habib Ullah did not correspond with his promise: it is true he continued the war, but without energy ; and it was only by the power of money that he was enabled to maintain for a short time his troops in obedience. Brutalized by his passion for drink, a vice which he inherited from his parent, he felt very little for the misfortunes of his country." Colonel Malleeson's testimony is to the effect that he had "more than the failings, none of the good qualities of his father." He alludes also to his devotion to the bottle, and adds, "His power lasted as long as the treasures bequeathed by his father remained undissipated, but no longer." On the other hand, Gardner's account of his campaign under Habib Ullah, given in his own words, tells quite a different story. He is a "brave and persecuted man"; a "noble chief and brother"; "generous to a fault"; and his "brilliant courage" had helped to extricate his followers from an attack of hostile cavalry. But the narrator has a more than common regard for his chief, making his attachment apparent on every occasion that it can be displayed, throughout the memoir.

Very many years ago the present writer purchased a volume of Persian manuscript from one Mirza 'Ata Muhammad, a much-esteemed inhabitant of Shikarpur, in which occur the following passages :

"It is related that on the death of Sirdar Muhammad Azim Khan Sirdar Dost Muhammad Khan became covetous of his property and

effects, and set forth his claims thereto, in opposition to Habib Ullah Khan the son of the deceased. They came to open controversy in Kabul, when the chiefs of Kandahar, wishing to arrange matters, sent Sirdar Sher Dil Khan to stop the contention. . . . This nobleman had separate conferences with each, and under the semblance of encouraging a renewal of friendly relations between the litigants, contrived to work out his own ambitious ends. He imprisoned Habib Ullah in the fort of Khuda Nasr Khan, and seized on the treasury and valuables of his inheritance, wishing himself to rule in Kabul. But Dost Muhammad . . . withdrew from his companionship and declared battle against him. Sher Dil Khan, upon hearing of these occurrences, repaired instantly from Kandahar to the scene of action . . . a compromise was effected by which Sher Dil Khan took the greater part of the property under dispute from Kabul, and Dost Muhammad was left to rule there. The latter discharged the establishment of the deceased Sirdar, marrying, however, one of the widows. He released Habib Ullah, and restored peace and security to the city."

But all statements which relate to Afghan family divisions must be received *cum grano*. While accepting certain leading facts as an essential groundwork to local history, students of Oriental annals must keep in mind that these are but infinitesimally small parts of a vast detail which is little known or understood by any save the politicals of North Western India. It is practically impossible for historians who deal with such questions to be sure that the documents they quote and narratives they repeat are trustworthy evidence on which to base sound arguments or conclusions. Habib Ullah, whatever his real character, held so prominent a position in a family feud that he was less likely to be unduly belauded by his friends than unjustly vilified by his enemies.

As to the prolongation of Habib Ullah's resistance to the powerful Dost, up to 1826, the editor of Gardner's memoir refers in a footnote to the discrepancy between this statement and the assertion in local history that the rebellion had been overcome in 1824. "The details of the civil war," he argues, "are but little known, and Gardner's date may be correct." We think it very probable that Major Pearse is right in his conclusions. In any case, there is little doubt that Habib Ullah could not have been in the field on his own account until the death of his father, Muhammad Azim, in 1823. If Gardner joined the

Prince, as probable, in 1824, he must have referred to that year and 1826, when relating the gifts to him by his chief of a fort near his own abode, where he "was very happy for about two years." In any case we readily endorse the statement by which the story of the contest is prefixed, viz. :

"The history of the internecine struggle between Dost Muhammad Khan and the various members of his family for the throne of Afghanistan has been very incompletely told by historians. The record of the Kohistan campaign, as related in the following pages by Gardner, is therefore valuable as well as interesting."

Major Pearse's quotation from Mr. Andrew Wilson's "Abode of Snow," which he justly designates a "charming book," recalls an appreciative notice of Gardner from a pen to which we are indebted for many bright and sympathetic literary sketches. The same writer's incidental mention, in the 42nd chapter of his not-forgotten volume, of three favourite heroes from among the million approved by the world at large—though it may not exactly apply to a man of our adventurer's rough experiences—speaks volumes in testimony of his own high standard of character. Ostensibly, there may appear to be a kind of abnormal bathos in putting together the names of Sir Philip Sidney, Mr. De la Poer Wynne, and the Rev. F. W. Robertson of Brighton. If the first has been known to Fame for more than 300 years, the second has been little heard of save in comparatively modern records of the Indian Civil Service, and the reputation of the third—though exceptional for a preacher out of London—has been too much at the mercy of antagonistic parties in the Church formed and fostered for more than half a century, to maintain its original power of attraction. Yet the retrospective process which brought about the combination should be by no means absurd or unintelligible; and Mr. Wilson's memorial to Colonel Gardner will lose nothing of its force from his opinions on men of a different type.

Attached to the memoir are some instructive and well compiled notices of the "white officers of the Maharaja Ranjit Singh."

CHINA, ENGLAND, AND RUSSIA.

BY "BEHIND THE SCENES."

[As events in the Far East move so rapidly, it is well to state that our contributor's article was put into type during August.—ED.]

NICOLA SHISHKOFF's contribution to the *Nineteenth Century* for July last is in a certain measure a re-echo of M. de Presensé's earlier appeals. The burden of it is that cruel England, after voraciously swallowing most of the good things in the world, has at last attracted the magisterial attention of Russia, France, and Germany, who are all looking on with chaste (if hungry) feelings whilst the monster is assimilating its unhallowed meal, fully resolved at any rate that the greedy glutton shall have no more, and even uncertain whether, in the fulness of their continent charity, they will condescend to leave the gourmand to digest in peace what he has already got. She writes from Simbirsk on the Volga, a dismal atrabilious town which I had the privilege, some years ago, of viewing from the steamer on my way from Kazan to Samara, and which is particularly calculated to give one the political "blues." The one bright spot in my recollections of that town is that it was here I met the hirsute and cheery commander of the "Djigit," who favoured me with his frank views upon Asiatic things in general, and upon the rapacity and tyranny of England in particular. The gallant commander was a typical Russian officer—generous, expansive, impulsive, rash, suspicious; and, of course, ill-informed as to the motives of British policy. But like nearly all Russians he was a good boon companion, and we consoled our respective feelings with many a *zakuska* at the saloon bar.

I do not know how much of the world the gifted lady writer now under examination may have seen, but there is a certain dreamy idealism about her warnings which savours of the melancholy pessimistic frame of mind generated by the dreary *Russische Ebene*. I well remember the almost

suicidal feeling of despair which came over me as I wandered through the dirty, unkempt, unpaved towns of the Volga; later on rolled sadly over the barren steppes and hideous plains extending from Tsaritsin to Voronej; and finally fled in desperation to the livelier scenes of Livadia and the Crimea. A man's—and doubtless a woman's—mind is unconsciously but irresistibly affected by its surroundings. In the mighty hum of London it is impossible not to feel penetrated by an exhilarating sense of power and energy: in travelling round the world and visiting the various ports and colonies which derive their life and soul from the restless activities of the conquering European race—for all Easterns really regard the *Feringhi*, or white men, as one people—the mind is divided between a sentiment of pride in the great work which has been done abroad by the kinsman pale face, and one of pity for the almost parochial strifes in which they are apt to fritter away their energies at home: in vast, melancholy Russia there comes a sort of longing for escape, coupled with a sense of utter loneliness and dependence,—a sort of gratitude to the very tyranny which galvanises inert, individual helplessness with a certain amount of administrative common life; just as the friendly barking of a fussy sheep-dog serves to reassure the impotent flock in its vague imaginative terror of possible wolves.

What have Germany, Russia, and France really got to complain about in England's conduct? In any English colony, without exception, the subjects of all three Powers can land without a passport, live where they please, trade in what they like, and generally enjoy all the privileges accorded to any full-blood Englishman. In India and Burma French Catholic priests have a perfectly free hand, though a *ministre protestant* is not tolerated under any conditions whatever in Indo-China. In Penang the German element under English protection is both commercially and municipally in possession of the leading rôles; yet the first suggestion of the Germans on taking possession of Kiao

Chow was one of exclusive privileges for themselves.* In all the "concessions" and "settlements" of the Chinese treaty ports, Russians, Germans, and Frenchmen are just as free as Englishmen to rent or build houses and factories on the British leaseholds; whilst at Vladivostock on the other hand no British consul, agent, or missionary is endured, and a most illiberal policy is already in course of inauguration at Ta-lien Wan. Hong Kong and Singapore swarm with foreign consuls, but no English official is acceptable at Hanoi, Haiphong, or Tourane. In 1842 England for the first time put some real life into the "yellow corpse": France, America, Belgium, and other Powers at once obtained similar privileges,—with the benevolent assistance of Sir Henry Pottinger. Their battles at Canton were subsequently fought for them by Sir John Davis and Sir George Bonham.

Thirty years ago Germany had neither ocean trade, navy, nor manufactures worth mentioning; but ships were built in England; officers were welcomed as midshipmen and lieutenants in our navy; gawky Teutons were licked into shape as smart seamen; clerks found their account and their training in the London and Manchester business offices; machinery was supplied, mechanics were taught, and all information was given with an unstinted hand.

Perhaps parliamentary institutions are not regarded as an entirely unmixed blessing by the rulers of those countries, who, according to Nicola Shishkoff, are now seriously contemplating our reduction to our "proper status" as a third-class Power; but if there is the least modicum of virtue at all in free political assemblies, whence did any nation, even the United States, derive the spirit of them, unless it be from England? True, England has adopted Free Trade, become a great sea power, sent forth

* It is satisfactory to find that this suggestion has not been followed up, and that Kiao Chow is now an open, free port. Also that the preliminary understandings with Germany, foreshadowed on page 316, give hope of good fruit.—ED.

colonies, and acquired a preponderating share of the world's commerce. But, apart from the perfect legitimacy of the enterprises, what other nation had the same provocative in the shape of restricted area and superabundant population? If Free Trade is good, was it not open to others to adopt it? If bad, what grudge need there be against England for uncomplainingly acquiescing in the adoption by others of the wiser policy of Protection? If we have become a great sea power, did we ever step in to prevent Germany, France, and Russia from following our example? Are we not ready to furnish to each of them, or to any one else who pays the price, as many ships and as good as our own? By deliberately refraining from becoming a great land power, have we not given the best security for peace and non-aggressiveness? If we have in past times conquered colonies from France, was it not in fair battle? And was it in any case morally worse than the conquest of Europe by France under Napoleon? But, however we got our colonies, are they not all perfectly free and open to all the world? Look at the privileges of Frenchmen in Australia as compared with those of Australians in New Caledonia! Look at the privileges of Germans in Singapore and Ceylon compared with those of Englishmen in German New Guinea! Look at the Russian tea-merchants housed in the best parts of the British concession at Hankow compared with the jealous exclusiveness at Vladivostock! I was myself present when the very first Russian Captain (Soutcovoï) was, during four days, indoctrinated in the mysteries of the Yangtze by a British skipper. The French are at our mercy in India; but the rights of Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and Mahé are as scrupulously guarded by us as the rights of British traders and missionaries are interfered with by the French in Madagascar. Germany and France never dreamt of consulting the interests of either ourselves or our colonies when they embarked upon their sugar-bounty policy: we never complained, and as a matter of fact we do not like it; though it has in a way overshot its mark and profited the

home section of us at their home consumers' expense. Our forefathers made a bad bargain with the Newfoundland fishery treaties ; but do we not protect the French rights loyally against the reasonable yet politically impossible appeals of our own colonists ? We have been the pioneers in railway lines, steamships, machinery for manufactures, the cheap Press, sports, good tailoring, and in fact nearly all the accessories of modern progress. In short, is it not a fact that our energy and our success have communicated themselves in every sense to the rest of the world, given equal chances to all, opened up men's minds, and spread liberal doctrines throughout the universe ?

There is one point made by Nicola Shishkoff in her well-intentioned article with which I cordially agree ; and that is that it is much to be deplored that irresponsible writers in the Press of both countries, kept in a state of nervous excitement by the false rumours telegraphed to great centres every day, are often inclined to indulge in irritating gibes and accusations, instead of ennobling their calling by endeavouring to soften away the nascent asperities of popular feeling. Of course it is not only the Russian and English newspapers that are to blame in this respect. There is a large section of the so-called "patriotic" Press in France which lives on stimulating the appetites of its readers for such unwholesome food : liberty has there degenerated into license of the worst order. The wings of the German Press have been greatly clipped since the Emperor William II. came to the throne, but the "reptile" principle nursed into being by Prince Bismarck still maintains its hold : the rancour born of repression at home is only too apt to find a vent in indulging itself at the cost of other nations. The spirit of political immorality has been let loose all over Europe as the nineteenth century draws to a close. The old canons of international law, which with all their imperfections did tolerably faithful duty up to forty years ago, are being gradually ignored or trampled under foot. What a record for the past twenty-five years !

Napoleon III. and his Belgian treaty. Russia and her solemn stipulations about the Black Sea. France's promises in Tunis, Siam, and Madagascar. Prince Bismarck and his secret conventions. The intervention of Russia, Germany, and France with Japan, and the lamentable sequel to it. The United States and Hawaii; and, to be fair (from others' point of view), England in the Transvaal, and even in Egypt. Possibly history will take a more lenient view of all these doings a century hence than it is possible for contemporary chroniclers to do now, when so many rival interests remain unadjusted. But with responsible governments and monarchs acting in a way which excites the suspicions and jealousies of their compeers, how is it to be wondered at that the note of hostility is caught up in each country by the Press, and that the embers of national hatred are perpetually on the point of being fanned into a dangerous flame? It must then be confessed, and it is much to be lamented, indeed, that mutual recriminations have within the last two or three years assumed regrettable proportions in the Press of all the leading countries, and Lord Salisbury's recent warning upon this subject certainly met in England with a less deferential reception than it deserved. But even Nicola Shishkoff will hardly be disposed, on reflection, to visit the chief blame upon England. Nor are the political utterances of the English Press on the same footing as those of the Russian, German, or French. From the days when cheap newspapers first sprang into existence, the English, Scotch, and even the Irish political organs have always enjoyed the fullest rights of free speech,—short of actual treason in their language; and even as to treason an unusually wide margin of liberty has been invariably allowed. Moreover, the Press of these islands, if outspoken, is just as ready to use strong language of home party-politicians as of foreign statesmen. Criticism is impartial and free; it leaves on native soil comparatively little bitterness behind it, and both readers and criticised know, by temperament and experience, how to throw in

with each piquant dish served up a due admixture of salt. But it is well known that the Russian Press is allowed small scope for appreciating the internal administration; and though as a sop to Cerberus much more latitude is allowed in the discussion of foreign affairs, it is evident from the fact that humble pie has to be swallowed when utterances prove inconvenient—as, for instance, in the recent threat to demonstrate, by way of reprisal for Wei-hai Wei, on the Indian frontier—that the Government has full power to check indiscreet advisers; and therefore that the Government, though perhaps not often positively the prompter of hostile language, is to a certain extent responsible negatively, by reason of its abstention, to an infinitely higher degree than is the Government of Great Britain, which practically possesses no controlling power over the Press at all. And even more so is this the case in Germany, where the mixed rancorousness and timidity of the national character leads men to assume an alternately menacing and cringing tone according to the momentary disappointments and fears of the hour. It is plain from the fact that the whole Press swings round to the bearings dictated to it at critical moments by some police or political caucus in the background, which bearings are often in complete antagonism to the utterances of a few days before, that the Government, if not exactly able to control it for all purposes, knows well the weak points in the armour; and by means of promises, subsidies, or doles of official intelligence, can often indirectly arrive at its own desired ends by playing upon the baser feelings of passion and self-interest. In France again the case is different. For foreign purposes the Press means that of Paris: no provincial newspaper has any influence whatever except in local affairs. Even Russia has its Moscow, Odessa, and Warsaw organs as well as those of the capital. But no one abroad ever hears what Marseilles, Lyons, or Bordeaux thinks,—at least in the same sense that Glasgow, Edinburgh, Manchester, or Birmingham make their views felt in Great Britain;

Frankfort, Cologne, Dresden, or Leipzig in Germany; Buda-Pesth and Cracow in Austria; or Milan, Turin, and Naples in Italy. The whole of the available French intellect seems to "cook in its own juice" within one solitary pot, and this pot unfortunately produces such an *olla podrida* of every imaginable shade of political opinion that it requires an expert to distinguish the well-weighed utterances of a true statesman from the frothy and venal diatribes of the *petit maître*. Taking it all in all, however, the French intellect is as clear, as just, and as noble as the German; and the alloy of baseness, which appears oftener than the friends of France care to see, is owing rather to the excitable and mercurial temper of the moment than to any deep-seated hatred or want of generosity. Opinion is, after all, only of real value where there is open or secret power behind to back it, as, for instance, in the case of certain Belgian journals: hence the utterances of the Dutch, Swiss, Swedish, and Danish newspapers, however wise in the abstract, are in most instances a *quantité négligeable*, unless it be a matter which, besides being of local, is also of international concern. The nearest approach to a perfectly free Press on the Continent is that of Italy. The liberty of the Italian mind does not often degenerate to spiteful license as in France, and there is no "patriotic" conspiracy to disguise or distort the truth. The tyranny of fustian patriotism in France—*i.e.*, Paris—has almost as powerful a muzzling effect as the masterfulness of William II. in Germany, or the machinations of the Russian censorate in the Holy Empire. The Spanish newspapers are almost as free and reasonable as the Italian—allowance of course being made for the disturbance of men's minds caused by a great national crisis such as the present one.

It is much to be desired that, as Nicola Shishkoff admonishes, the Press of all countries would mend its ways, and as a commencement it is gratifying to see some small improvement in the bearing of the English and German organs towards each other. Still a sneer here or a gibe

there often does incalculable harm, and it is to be hoped that a time will come when pressmen will in doubtful cases incline the balance on the side of courtesy, just as in private life the "yahs" of 'Arry are by common consent inadmissible in the regions of club-land.

But when Nicola Shishkoff passes from the legitimate censure of inconsiderate Press utterances to the discussion of political measures, *il faut s'aviser*. It is a curious thing that Russia's chief defenders in England are women. It is doubtful, indeed, if Russian males of repute, not of the exile category, would dare to express themselves at all. We all know how Madame Olga Novikoff is in love with autocracy; how she regards all other nations besides Russia as "patients" in the hands of a condescending doctor. Her efforts to promote good feeling between the two countries are not to be despised; but it is evident her head is a little turned with the sudden greatness of Russia's position, which is more apparent than real. Nicola Shishkoff, too, in the gloomy solitudes of Simbirsk, seems to have persuaded herself that salvation lies only in or with Russia. Russia has unquestionably succeeded, under the able financial presidency of M. de Witte, in purchasing all the world's superfluous gold: she imagines that with a store of £120,000,000 she will be able to "corner" the rest of Europe when the supreme moment of danger arrives. She looks forward with legitimate satisfaction to the fact that her population is increasing at an enormous rate in spite of unusual hygienic discouragements. She is flattered that her Czar should be the cynosure of the crowned empyrean, and justly proud of the enormous successes of Prince Lobanoff's new policy of expansion, carried forward less deftly and with coarser hands by Count Muravieff. The giddy heads of Russia triumph at the supposed "checks" which they have imposed upon Great Britain's perfectly honest and peaceful policy. It is sad to see the bright genius of France dragged so low as to play the cringing jackal to the imperious Russian

statesmen, bent as they are on entangling her in a mesh of debt from which she can never escape except at the cost of unreservedly leaving the guiding strings of the net in the clutches of Russia. Yet it is a fact, and it must be counted with, that noble France, floundering in a slough of corrupt and ill-balanced republicanism, is in her self-conscious plebeianism quite dazzled by the spectre of a real live friendly Czar; and confessing in her inner consciousness that her army is not up to the mark, whether in physique, discipline, or *morale*, she cannot resist the temptation to fling herself body and soul into the arms of another desperate fellow-sufferer, who is just as secretly conscious as France is that she is totally unable to tackle the German forces alone. And Russia naturally gloats over her hypnotising success. But, in spite of all this, Russian credit and Russian trade remain pretty much what they were; and that is the utmost that can be said of French credit and French trade too. The sinews of national life lie not in columns of solid gold, but in credit. At a certain point gold may at any moment become in Russia what it is in Klondyke, *i.e.*, valueless until it is got away. In spite of her £120,000,000, Russia is a borrowing nation. Even the stupid Russian *mujik*, who now "prefers paper to gold," would rush to change his notes the instant they were at a discount, and at a discount they would infallibly be the moment war were declared. A first class war would bring the whole Russian financial system tumbling about her people's ears. For the first year or so, possessing the gold, she would make every effort to pay up her French coupons promptly in order to borrow more; but in the end the French savings would inevitably be where they are in the case of the Panama and Spanish bonds. And as to the population: if it is increasing, all the greater are the dangers of famine, for communications are still lamentably deficient; so much so that the Committee of Ministers positively admit in a recent official publication that a bumper harvest is more injurious to Russian economy than

a poor one. Russia looks very big on the map, but she is only a big bogey after all. Of her 130,000,000 inhabitants, only 13,000,000 are in Asia, and of those 13,000,000 the larger half consists of Kirghiz, Usbeks, Turkomans, and Tartars, who would as soon be under England as under Russia. In Siberia the population is only half a human being a square verst, or, say, one adult for every English square mile. Over 100,000,000 souls are crowded together in the plains of Russia, and though great efforts have been made to improve the condition of these poor creatures, they live, except in the half-dozen great towns, very much in the style of pigs, totally devoid of the barest elements of education, and only governable in times of unrest by that identical absence of communication which makes it difficult to feed them in times of scarcity. Neither in Finland nor in Poland, where life is on a much more generous scale, would the subject people tolerate the hopeless misery of the genuine Russian *mujik*, and any attempt to tamper with Finnish privileges would dispose the Finns to welcome a British fleet. True, great progress has been made during the past twenty years, but the instant enlightenment passes a certain stage the people begin to inquire; "Why should our substance go to pamper a luxurious pack of officials? Why should we alone in Europe be deprived of the results of modern thought?" Russia, in short, under her boasted autocracy, is rather below than above the level of poor China. She is exploited by a small band of "mandarins" called the *tchinovniks*, whether they be civil or military, and as with the Chinese mandarin it is his interest to support corruption and *likin* at the cost of his country, so with the Russian *tchinovnik*, it is his interest to keep up ignorance and submissiveness at the cost of the people's happiness. The Czar Alexander III., who will probably rank in history as the very best ruler the Russians ever had, from the very beginning of his reign adhered to the wise principle of peaceful expansion, enlightenment of the people, conciliatory relations with foreign powers, and

a policy of kindness and sympathy. A feeling of respect and sympathy was beginning to grow up in England for Russian aspirations, and there was every prospect of the two Powers coming to a permanent understanding upon the subject of their respective spheres in Asia. It is hardly too much to say that the fulfilment of this pleasant dream has been thrown back for at least a generation by the cynical conduct of Count Muravieff in the recent negotiations, the failure of which has in a chorus of blame been somewhat unfairly charged upon Lord Salisbury. But "once bit, twice shy" is an old motto, the truth of which is certain to be brought home to Russia in the long run: even as it is, she enjoys her temporary triumph at the cost of her permanent reputation in history. It is impossible to deny that there is a certain humiliation in being "humbugged;" but the discredit, in the judgment of honest men the wide world over, does not lie in this instance with the deceived party, any more than a whist-player who loses a game through a revoke deliberately made in full view of the bystanders loses their respect because, taken unawares, he failed to "call" it in time to save the stakes; and this even though some of the bystanders, bound by the rules of the game to remain silent or pay the stakes, may feel a malicious *Schadenfreude* on account of the unpopularity of the luckless defeated player. The act is certain to have costly and bitter results for Russia; possibly for England too. Meanwhile the already visible consequences are that a closer feeling has grown up between the United States and the old country than was ever known to history before: Japan, having in the matter of Liao Tung, been hoodwinked grossly too, is quietly and undemonstratively preparing to counterbalance Russia's efforts in the Yellow Sea: China, feeble though she is, unmistakably confesses her dread and suspicion: the Czar as a first instalment has had, whilst famine is raging in nineteen provinces, to appropriate 90,000,000 roubles for purposes of sea defence: Germany, unfriendly though she still is in some respects to England,

shows signs of conviction that her general commercial interests are less threatened by us than by Russia: and Count Cassini, whose special mission probably is to sow discord at Washington, and, *coute que coute*, to prevent an Anglo-American alliance, finds that his overtures are viewed with pardonable suspicion.

The violent methods essayed by M. de Speyer and M. Alexeieff in Corea, and by M. Pavloff at Peking, rightly alarm the United States at the prospect of seeing *their* rising trade with the Far East placed at the mercy of a Russo-French combination. American influence has from the beginning been justly in the ascendant at Seoul, and it is perfectly certain now that, whatever agreement the Russians and Japanese may have made, the Americans are not going to submit to being jockeyed out of their Corean position by Russia: in this they are certain of British support. Russia's hasty retreat from Corea was most likely as much owing to the dread of the United States; or, rather, to a nervous desire to keep them detached from Great Britain, as to any loyal desire to conciliate Japan: moreover, Corea, being approachable on all sides from the sea, does not offer anything like so good a base as Liao Tung, which admits of a continuous land connection with St. Petersburg. As regards Corea, the interests of England, America, Japan, and indeed of Germany, are absolutely one, and on the principle of *obsta principiis*, we should be very careful to advance step by step with any political influence Russia may gain in that quarter. The only interest France has in Corea is a religious one; but of course so long as she is infatuated enough, out of sheer spite, to lend her savings to Russia, and thus place herself hopelessly in Russia's power, she will and must throw the weight of her vote in the Russian scale. It may or not be true that she is seeking to obtain from China the concession of Kin Chow as a naval port; in any case it is only as the cat's-paw of Russia that she would find her account in pressing the claim. It is much to be wished that the

United States and Japan would each negotiate for a similar foothold in North China, with a view of presenting, along with Great Britain, a united front in face of Russo-French aggression and protective tariffs.

Were it not for the openly avowed hostility of the Franco-Russian partnership, there is really no reason why the whole Far Eastern Question should not be arranged in a friendly spirit. For instance, if the Siberian railway were treated in the same way that the Canadian Pacific, and Union Railways are treated; if Ta-lien Wan were made a second Vancouver or San Francisco; there is no limit to the advantage to Russia and the whole world which might accrue from loyal commercial co-operation. But it must be remembered that the whole Russian system hangs upon passports, espionage, and darkness. The moment light and freedom beyond a certain degree are admitted into the Russian Empire, it is bound to fall to pieces. Too much official strain might easily lead to a Siberian republic. Free ports, free trade, individual enterprise, free newspapers, and all the paraphernalia of thriving English seaports are as foreign and hateful to Russian bureaucracy as Greek aspirations are to the Turk. Clever though the Russian administrators are in the management of semi-barbarous races, they have shown no capacity whatever for governing free men, and indeed nearly all their most energetic officers have a foreign strand in their composition: for instance, M. de Witte is by origin a Dutchman, M. Waeber by origin a German, M. de Speyer by origin an Israelite, and M. Alexeieff by origin a Greek: the stock of capable and incorrupt native administrators (of any but the higher ranks) is comparatively small. Still, Russia's mission in the Far East is a legitimate one: she has a pullulating, patient, and humane population, on the chronic verge of starvation, which she is anxious to send abroad, and no portions of it, except the Jewish and the Finnish, are refined enough or intelligent enough to be acceptable as immigrants in any country but those under Russian rule.

She possesses the great knack of being able to combine, or to live on equal terms with, other inferior races—races like the Turkomans, Tunguses, Coreans, much superior to the Russian in refinement of physique, but inferior even to the Russian—and far inferior to the ruling Russian classes—in the arts of war and progressive development. It is different with France, who has no natural mission in the Far East at all. Her trade is next to *nil*; her rôle as protector of religious communities, barely even tolerated at home, is a false one; not a single colony pays its way, and none of her *protégés* are as well off under her rule as they were before “protection” was accorded to them, or thrust upon them. It resolves itself therefore into this, that the Franco-Russian alliance in the Far East is a conspiracy of tyranny, for the benefit of a few, against liberty for the benefit of all; the question is whether the nations which favour individual freedom, free Press, and unshackled trade, are to prevail against those who enslave the conscience, promote monopoly, and deny equality of opportunity. Except in her own restricted field of wines and fancy articles, France is hopelessly unable to compete with the more vigorous nations in trade. Except under the autocratic system of submission and protection, Russia cannot hold her own in anything, whether it be trade, shipping, science, or finance. Floundering about and wasting her powers in distracted counsels, France flies to autocracy for a permanent leader. Miserably poor and financially top-heavy, Russia flies to France for hard cash and general support. Their combined armies are barely a match for that of Germany; their combined navies barely a match for that of Great Britain. Owing to the publicity of all French affairs, Russia is able to exploit France with impunity, and to pose as the favouring partner of the concern. Owing to the secrecy of Russian affairs, the sanguine Frenchman takes *omne ignotum pro magnifico*, and like a moth flutters foolishly before the flame which is destined sooner or later to consume him. From no point of view can the alliance be

viewed as other than an "unholy" one for the rest of mankind.

The waste and misery caused by the Hispano-American war ought to cause the military nations of Europe to pause and reflect seriously before plunging into internecine conflict, the consequences of which, if conducted on a general scale, would certainly ruin France, throw Russia back for half a century, dissolve the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and lead to great popular misery in England. In the case of Germany the possible results are more doubtful, for Germany is after all the sole European nation whose army is trained to the highest degree of discipline and efficiency: for defensive purposes at least Germany is safe. It is, therefore, much to be wished that moderate and patient diplomacy may, notwithstanding past misunderstandings, deceits, and disappointments, so arrange matters that conflicting interests may be adjusted without recourse to arms. France and England have led the way by coming to an agreement in respect of West African rivalries, though it is not unlikely that France would have proved less accommodating had she not earnestly wished to have her hands freer for greater negotiations in fields where she could bring more force to bear. In spite of Far Eastern complications, we see France, England, and Russia acting together fairly harmoniously in Cretan waters; and it will be a great gain if the principle can be established that Great Powers may localise their disputes; that is to say that disagreement in one corner of the world need not necessarily exclude cordial co-operation in another. Just as a smart and cunning minister is of no avail at Peking against the superior duplicity of Chinese statesmen, so at St. Petersburg the "smartness" which sits unnaturally on the English character can do little against the fox-like diplomacy of Russian statesmen. Both at St. Petersburg and at Peking the men who act up to the best traditions of English straightforwardness and honour have the best chance of success; and nowhere is the typical "straight" English gentleman more appreciated

and respected than on the banks of the Neva. It is even doubtful if Count Muravieff would have played so many false cards, had he not suspected that an attempt was being made to overreach him.

But if unfortunately it turns out that Russia is deliberately resolved to inaugurate a policy of menace and chicanery, then in our own self-defence we must "see that the *respublica* comes to no injury." If Russia can demonstrate on the Pamir, so can we in the Baltic Sea. If she can coquet with the Amir, we can hold out inducements to the Finns. If force is used to interfere with our trade in South Manchuria, we are at least as able to forcibly put a stop to her steamer trade with Hankow. Even single-handed, we have no particular reason to dread a hostile Franco-Russian combination; and the same may be said of Germany. British sea-power and German land power can each take care of its own: if united, they could make things decidedly uncomfortable for both France and Russia. Under the Emperor Frederick a close Anglo-German understanding would have been quite practicable, for we might have safely trusted both his caution and his oneness of purpose. We might even enter upon negotiations having this end in view with constitutional Germany, if the capable men of the country would only insist upon their rights of representation. Under the present impetuous ruler the utmost that it is safe for us to do is to come to limited understandings upon definite and restricted points, perhaps extending the scope of the partnership in proportion as each specific bargain is fairly and ingenuously adhered to. To go farther than this would be to expose ourselves infallibly to the risk of playing the *rôle* of second fiddler, as in the cases of Austria and Italy, both of whom have played a "heads you win, tails I lose" sort of game from the commencement. The same policy of particular and limited understandings should be followed with Japan, which nation is not yet sufficiently ripened and settled for a permanent and permeating alliance.

But with the United States matters are on quite a different footing. Though we may have had misunderstandings with our cousins beyond the sea, and though points of detail in commercial matters will require careful readjustment, yet the events of the past year have shown conclusively that our interests *vis-à-vis* of the rest of the world, be it "Dutchman" or "Dago," are one and the same with those of our cousins. Our respective commonwealths are the only ones in existence where mankind is truly free. Supposing some great cataclysm destroyed the political power of the United States, no American would feel humiliated at having to live under the Union Jack. In the same way, supposing some great cataclysm destroyed the political power of Great Britain, no Englishman—in the word's widest sense—would feel humiliated at having to live under the Stars and Stripes. In short, the valuable lesson of the past year is that the time has come for the permanent *Geistverein* of the whole English-speaking race. Federation is a grave word; but it is possible even to arrange the basis of federation in such a way as to do no violence to either monarchical or republican principles, or to vested interests; and indeed the rapidly ripening idea of imperial federation with our colonies was every whit as remote from our minds thirty years ago as is now the idea of alliance or federation with the United States. The idea is a generous one and must be generously considered. One thing is certain, and outweighs all other considerations. England and America joined loyally together are perfectly safe against the whole world; and the world is in no danger therefrom.

SECRET SOCIETIES IN CHINA.

BY HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S.

Now that the eyes of the whole world seem destined to turn toward the East and more particularly to China, where the ethnic drama of the future will probably be played out, a revolt such as that which recently took place in the province of Kwang-si assumes a more than ordinary importance. As to what the causes were which directly led to the rising we are not in a position to say; about one thing, however, there can be no doubt, namely, that the outbreak was connected with one or more of the Secret Societies with which the whole of China is honeycombed. Though it is true that in walking down a street in Peking or Canton we "survey a living past and converse with fossil men," it is also a fact that, behind those quiet Chinese eyes there often lurks the possibility of volcanic eruption. To understand this state of things some acquaintance with Celestial Annals is requisite.

Authentic history begins with the Chau dynasty, about 1100 B.C., when the Middle Kingdom was split up into several separate and independent States, though they all theoretically acknowledged one chief ruler. This went on for nearly 900 years, until the Chau family was superseded by one of the Tsin family who, upon the subjugation of all the surrounding states, assumed the title of Emperor and gave to his consolidated kingdom his own name.

It was this first Emperor who built the Wan-li-Chang or Myriad-Mile Wall to protect his people from the Huns or Manchus, for these tribes were constantly making incursions, and indeed continued to do so right down to the Sung dynasty in 960 A.D. At last in the year 1269 one of the Sung Emperors in a moment of weakness appealed to the

Head Khan of the Western Tatars to help him to get rid of the Manchu marauders. The result was the arrival of Kublai Khan with a large army. After driving out the Manchus Kublai Khan ascended the throne, and founding the dynasty of Yün, became the first foreign ruler of the Celestial Empire. Nor was this all. Not content with China he ravaged the whole of Manchuria, so that his dominions finally extended from Korea to Khokan and from Taimyr to Singapore.

Nearly a hundred years afterwards the dwellers in the Flowery Land were successful in expelling the usurpers, when the Mings began to rule in 1368 and reigned for 246 years. At length, after much misgovernment, a rebellion broke out and a Chinaman usurped the throne. Then one of the deposed Emperor's generals invoked the aid of the Eastern Tatars, which led to a 7 years' war, and the falling of the sovereignty of the whole realm into the hands of the Manchus. In 1644, having established themselves in Peking, the first representative of the present dynasty, called Tsing, was duly enthroned, and since that time the Sons of Heaven have been under Manchu rule.

Now, ever since the invasion of these Manchu Tatars in the seventeenth century, secret societies have been organized in China in order to re-establish national independence. One of these sects, indeed, the San-Ho-Hwei, has for its watchword: *Fu Ming! Fan Ching!* 'Long live the Ming! Down with the Ching!' The most important are the following:

- Pai-Sien-Kyao, Sect of the white Water-Lilies;
- San-Ho-Hwei, Society of the Triad, a branch of the first, which was developed chiefly in the Southern provinces;
- Tien-Ti-Hwei, Association of Heaven and Earth;
- Ching-Sien-Kyao, Sect of the green Water-Lily;
- Ching-Cha-Mên-Kyao, Green Tea Society;
- Hsyao-Tao-Kyao, Little Dagger Society;
- Wên Hsyang Kyao, The Perfume-breathing Association;
- Hwang-Mao-Kyao, Sect of the Yellow Bonnet;
- Hung-Yang-Kyao, Red Sun Society;
- Pai-Yün-Kyao, Association of the White Cloud.

Curiously enough, our best information about these sects comes to us from the head of one of the most formidable of the Celestial revolts, known by the irony of fate as *Tai-Ping* or *Profound Peace*. The leader of this celebrated outbreak was Hung Siu Tsün, who was born in 1812 in the district of Hwa in Kwangtung and died in 1864. Beginning life as a schoolmaster he afterwards became a fortune-teller, and in the course of his wanderings seems to have gained some knowledge of Christianity, and to have longed not only for personal but also for national freedom. He joined a band of the disaffected at Kin Tien in Kwang-si, and founded with Yang Siu Tsing and others a political sect to which he gave the name of Shang-Ti Hwei, "Secret Society of God." In 1850 the standard of rebellion was raised, and Hung Siu Tsün soon found himself leading a whole host of insurgents across Hunan and Hupeh right up to the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang. So great was the success of the movement that on the 19th March, 1853, Nankin was taken and Hung Siu Tsün was crowned as Tien Wang, "heavenly King." For many years he was known as the leader of the *Tai Ping* revolt, but on the 30th June, 1864, when it was found impossible any longer to defend the city, he committed suicide.

This is the man who said of the Triads :

"Although I never joined the San-Ho-Hwei, I have often heard it said that its object is to overthrow the Ching dynasty and to set up the Ming. This was a good idea at the time of Kang Hi, when the Society was formed, but now, after two centuries have passed, if we can still speak of overturning the Ching we cannot well talk of restoring the Ming. Doubtless when we have recovered our rivers and native mountains it will be necessary to establish a new dynasty. How can we to-day arouse the energy of our race by speaking of re-establishing the Mings? In the Triad Society there are certain bad practices which I detest. When a new adept enters the Society he must worship the devil and take 36 oaths; a naked sword is

held over his throat, and he is obliged to give money for the needs of the Society. The real object of its members has now become as unworthy as it is mean."

Perhaps the San-Ho-Hwei still has the greatest vitality, but it is by no means easy to determine the ramifications of these clandestine bodies, and, if the present desire of Western States to annex portions of China be not soon checked by a strong government, it is more than likely that they will all again become active.

BRITISH INFLUENCE IN THE WESTERN SUDAN:

ITS HISTORY AND RESULTS.

BY R. POPHAM LOBB.

"FRANCE is already established on the Senegal, and commands that river; and if the supineness and carelessness of Great Britain allow that powerful, enterprising, and ambitious rival to step before us and fix herself securely on the Lower Niger, then it is evident that, with such a settlement in addition to her command of the Senegal, France will command all northern Africa. The consequences cannot fail to be fatal to the best interests of this country. . . . By means of the Niger and his tributary streams, it is quite evident that the whole trade of Central Africa may be rendered exclusively and permanently our own. . . . To support and carry into execution the measures necessary to accomplish this undertaking is worthy of the ministry of Great Britain, and worthy of the first country in the world."

These words, so far from being an extract from any *Times* leader during the last few months, were written seventy-seven years ago by the geographer James M'Queen, and the accuracy of his conclusions has received such striking confirmation from events which form the subject of this article that I shall offer no apology for introducing the quotation.

Not only have the French justified his forecast as to their aim and policy in West Africa, but his conviction that only by means of the Niger could we make head against them has proved to be equally well founded. The ministry of Great Britain, however, to which he commended the latter undertaking, has never considered the task worthy of it, and it is private enterprise, and more especially that of one man, which has made British influence and trade in the Western and Central Sudan a reality, when it might other-

wise have remained a mournful shadow on the coast, represented by a "tin house with a dead Consul inside," as Burton put it; for the partition of Africa, steadily carried out by France, but precipitated by the sudden colonial energy of Germany in the eighties under Bismarck's astute guidance, found official Great Britain asleep and utterly unprepared to safeguard her rights or to compete with her more pushing rivals.

McQueen is not an isolated instance of a political prophet in the official wilderness; our own history shows several such, men who with sturdy common-sense were not afraid to face the future and boldly indicate in deed as well as word a line of advance, and who have won only a posthumous appreciation. The French themselves would be in India to-day had Dupleix met with any support at Versailles, and, if we may judge by their African record, the warning has not been thrown away upon them.

To go to the root of things, we must go back to the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815. In North Africa Turkey was the only European power, and her dominion there was of a very precarious tenure. Out of the wreck of her colonies, France saved in Africa only Senegal and the coast from the Gambia to Cape Blanco, her influence being then confined to the actual coast-line. Great Britain had the Gambia, Sierra Leone and Gold Coast settlements, and the Cape, which she regarded only as a post on the route to India. Portugal slept in genteel poverty at half a dozen moribund settlements, and possessed antique claims to millions of square miles based on Papal Bulls some centuries old, and one or two other small States, such as Holland, had ruined forts along the Gulf of Guinea. France and Great Britain were both disinclined for colonial exertions in Africa, the former owing to her exhaustion after the war, the latter partly for the same reason, but more from the fact of Canada, Australia, and India claiming most of her energies for their development. Africa in 1815 was to all intents and purposes unknown and unconsidered, especially its Western portion, and it is to private enterprise to begin

with that we owe the gradual opening up of the darkest portion of the African continent.

Already in 1796 Mungo Park first struck the Upper Niger at Sego, and nine years later descended from the same spot as far as Bussa. M'Queen alone insisted that the Niger found its outlet into the Atlantic and not in Lake Tchad, and in 1830 Richard Lander supplied the proof by floating down from Bussa to the Nun mouth. Besides four or five private expeditions, two were sent out under the auspices of the Government; one under Captain Allen, R.N., to Lokoja in 1841, and another in 1854 in two divisions, under Dr. Barth, starting from Tripoli, and under Dr. Baikie, R.N., and MacGregor Laird from the Niger mouth, who were to meet on the Benué. Neither was entirely successful, and from this time the exploration of the Niger and the Benué was left to English traders. By 1857 "legitimate trade may be said to have begun on the Niger," and in 1865 the West African Company was founded.

French activity began with the conquest of Algiers in the thirties at a total cost of 150 millions, which gave them a base for the further extension of French influence. René Caillié had already reached Timbuctu, and this point was until quite recently one of the goals of French effort. Under Faidherbe, who retired in 1865, the development of Senegambia went steadily on, always supported by the Government; Galliéni, Desbordes and Binger explored the Upper Senegal and Upper Niger and obtained treaties from the Almamy of Fouta-Djalou which placed large tracts of highland territory under French control, so that in 1890 there was "a solid block of French territory all the way from the coast of Senegal to the Gulf of Guinea, shutting out from the interior the colonies of England, Portugal (German Togoland too), and the State of Liberia." France had occupied the Gaboon in 1842, the Ogowé in '62, and in 1877 De Brazza began his wonderful series of exploring expeditions which enabled the French to acquire their vast Congo territories in 1884 between the Congo, the Cameroons, and the coast.

The French successes were due to the fact that they

had a definite policy supported by the Home Government, namely the creation of an African Empire stretching from Algiers to the Niger mouth and the Congo, and from Senegambia through the Bahr-el-Ghazal region and Abyssinia to Tanjurrah and Obock, their bases on the Red Sea, as Capt. Lugard has pointed out.

It was far otherwise with Great Britain. Until the Berlin Conference she had no policy in Africa but that of neglect; there were no statesmen to "peg out claims for posterity"; successive ministries were content to remain blind to French enterprise and expansion, and the possibility of any European power presuming to embark on a colonial policy did not occur to anyone except a few traders and to officials such as Sir Bartle Frere or Sir John Kirk, men whose warnings were too distant to be audible in Downing Street. Like some modern correspondents, these men deemed it part of their duty to intelligently anticipate events; the Foreign Office, then as now, thought otherwise, and we lost the mainland of Zanzibar, Angra Pequena, the Cameroons and Togoland in quick succession, all to Germany, before our statesmen could bring themselves to take Bismarck seriously.*

In all four cases our long-standing trade interests and local influence, and in two cases the repeated requests of the native rulers themselves, not only justified but imperatively demanded the declaration of a British Protectorate over these territories years previously. Indeed, but for Consul Hewett's prompt action in securing treaties all along

* In 1884 Dr. Peters and Graf Joachim Pfeil, going out to Zanzibar disguised as mechanics, secured treaties with a number of mainland chiefs in the dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, which gave them the control of 60,000 square miles of territory—the nucleus of German East Africa. Already in 1878 Said Burghash, through Sir W. Mackinnon, had offered to hand over the control of his territories to the Government, but Disraeli refused the offer, although British influence (owing to Sir John Kirk, the virtual ruler), had been supreme since 1866. No attention was paid to Sir John Kirk's remonstrances: German men-of-war compelled the Sultan to agree to the German claims, and Sir John Kirk retired in disgust.

the coast from Lagos to the Rio del Rey in 1884, there is not much doubt that Nachtigall would have forestalled him and repeated his success of Togoland and Cameroons.

In 1884-85 came the Berlin Conference, proposed first by Portugal, whose faith in the efficacy of Papal Bulls seems to have been rudely shaken by French claims on the Congo and the proceedings of Germany, and certain rules were there laid down regulating the future acquisition of African territory by the signatory powers.

I have devoted overmuch space, perhaps, to the early history of the scramble for Africa, but not without a reason. France has been, and still is, our most formidable rival; for over half a century she has had a settled policy and has backed it up with men and money, with what results we have seen; French influence is recognised over 2½ millions of square miles, every one of our neglected West Coast settlements has been cut off from the interior, and but for the foresight and untiring exertions of one man, Sir George Goldie, British trade and British influence would still be confined to the few patches of unhealthy West Coast territory which, to borrow a phrase from Miss Kingsley, constitute our "fossil colonies." The unaided and successful efforts of the Royal Niger Company under his guidance, which have resulted in a gain to the Empire of half a million square miles of the finest country in the Soudan, form the only bright spot in the long tale of Government neglect and short-sightedness all along the West Coast from the Gambia to Angra Pequena. But for Sir George Goldie, the whole of this territory, over four times the area of the United Kingdom, would (with the exception of the Niger mouth) be now forming part of the French dominions, and the violent hostility continually shown to the Company by Prince D'Arenberg and the French Colonial press generally must be put down to the fact that owing to the Company and its Governor their dream of a united trans-African empire has received its most serious check, over and above the more hypothetical one which may yet result from a

British junction between Uganda and Egypt on the Upper Nile.*

After Dr. Barth's journeys in the Niger-Benué region in the fifties it was the traders who, as I have said, took up the task of exploring the river, chief among them being Mr. J. A. Croft, the "Father of the Niger"; a few firms had temporary stations on the Lower river, but without concerted action it was impossible to conduct trading operations with either safety or profit in the midst of a savage and unsubdued population. Only by combined effort could a footing be gained and kept and Sir George Goldie, who first visited the Niger in 1877, was the originator of the "friendly amalgamation" principle. In a recent speech he said:

"I am not ashamed to confess my personal responsibility for the conception and execution of this policy . . . ('the principle of friendly amalgamation') . . . from the year 1879 down to the present day. It seemed to me that thus alone could the Niger Territories be won for Great Britain, and British influence be maintained there during the period of foundation and pacification."

In 1879 there were no other European firms on the river except a few English houses, and in that year Sir George Goldie's policy of amalgamation was begun; under his influence they combined to form the United African Company, and determined to obtain a Charter and acquire a solid block of territory. Two years later the capital of the Company was raised from £125,000 to one million sterling and it was thrown open to the public as the National African Company, its principal object, as set out in its prospectus, being to establish relations with Sokoto, Gando, and the Tchad basin. The next few years were a period

* The Marchand expedition to Fashoda is the French counterstroke to the long-planned advance of the Sirdar. French control over the Upper Nile region, and French influence paramount in Abyssinia, would not only effectually defeat the projected junction between Egypt and our own East Coast territory viâ Uganda, and so deprive us of another reason for the permanent occupation of Egypt, but would strengthen the hands of the French in so far as concerns their ability (and their desire) to make things uncomfortable for us in Egypt.

of "Sturm und Drang." During Gambetta's tenure of office the French determined to second the efforts of Galliéni on the Upper Niger by securing a footing on the Lower and Middle river; two French companies, with a capital of £760,000 between them, came in and established over thirty stations on the Lower river and the prospects of the British Company being able to secure a Charter looked very doubtful. But Sir George Goldie was not to be beaten. By increasing their own stations and trade competition his company brought the French to such a pass that they were glad enough to be bought out and retire, some of their members becoming shareholders in the British Company. This took place only a few weeks before the Berlin Conference, so that the British representative was there able to announce that English influence was supreme on the Niger. At this time the Company's treaties secured to them the Lower Niger up to Lokoja and the southern bank of the Benué as far as Ibi.

But no sooner were the French beaten off than the German peril had to be faced, for Herr Flegel came out in 1885 with the object of getting treaties with Sokoto and Gando. The Company luckily prevailed on Joseph Thompson, then just returned from Masai Land, to go out and forestall him. Hurrying up north he made treaties with the Sultans of Sokoto and Gando, secured their allegiance to the Company, and as he returned met Flegel on his way up. Dr. Staudinger tried again, but with no better success, so that in 1886 the British Government was able to carry through the Anglo-German agreement. The Company now had over 300 treaties, securing the riverine territory up to, and including Burrum.

In June, 1885, a Government protectorate had been declared over the Niger districts up to Lokoja and Ibi and over such places as might eventually come under the jurisdiction of the National Company, which a year later obtained its Charter and with it its present name, the Royal Niger Company, being the first modern company to receive a Charter for territory over which a protectorate had already

been declared. It is a common mistake to put it second in this respect to the British North Borneo Company, but the territories of the latter were not taken under British protection until 1888, seven years after it had received its Charter. Such very briefly is the origin of the Royal Niger Company; I now pass to its relations with its European neighbours.

The inapplicability to vast tracts of totally unexplored country of the ordinary methods of occupation has been at once the principal difficulty, and a fruitful source of misunderstanding between neighbouring European Powers in Africa, and in order to enable the methods necessitated by new conditions to conform to international usage ("law" is too strong a term, especially in this case, since its sanction is vague and indefinite, resting ultimately as it does upon a public opinion liable to sudden fluctuations from a dozen different causes having nothing to do with the subject), a totally new principle has been introduced, that of "spheres of influence," or more logically, spheres of *non*-influence, since an agreement between two powers concerning their respective spheres is purely negative in character, in that it simply binds each of the signatory powers not to acquire political influence in the sphere assigned to the other. That is its main, and indeed its only object; other obligations it does not impose. No power, for instance, is bound to extend its influence over its own sphere until it chooses to do so, and at the present moment France possesses unoccupied (*i.e.*, not "effectively" occupied) spheres larger than those of all the Powers together.*

* The Berlin Conference in 1884 adopted and laid down the principle that occupation of coast territory, in order to be valid, must be effective. This was entirely owing to the persuasion of the French representative, and is only another proof of their right appreciation of the practical methods of dealing with new territory in Africa. The British Government, on the other hand, betrayed its utter lack of that quality by suggesting that the same rule should apply equally to the occupation of territory in the interior, which proposal was unanimously rejected. Its adoption, and a consequent attempt to enforce it in the case of the Hausa States, would have necessitated a large body of European troops, a permanent force of occupation,

The disadvantage of such spheres* is the vagueness of their boundaries, which is to a large extent inevitable in unsurveyed and often unknown territory ; even when laid down they not infrequently remain undelimited for years, and in some cases (as for instance the eastern limit of the French Soudan, or that of British East Africa to the north and north-west) it is impossible even to set a tentative limit. All these things invite complications, of which the Niger Company have had their full share.

Under the Anglo-French agreement of August, 1890, the northern limit of the company's sphere became continuous with the limit of French influence southwards from Algeria, the British Government recognising the "sphere of influence of France to the south of the Mediterranean possessions up to a line drawn from Say on the Niger to Barruwa on Lake Tchad, drawn in such a manner as to comprise in the sphere of action of the Niger Company all that fairly belongs to the kingdom of Sokoto."

In the previous year an Anglo-French agreement had settled the western boundary of Lagos which in 1896 was delimited up to the 9th parallel, with the tacit understanding that it should continue due north until it struck the Niger a few miles below Say, thus forming the *western* boundary of the Company's sphere. Now, in the pourparlers preceding the ratification of the Say-Barrua agreement, the intention was clearly understood that France was to have complete control of the Upper Niger, while we should have the same over the Middle and Lower river from Say downwards, the Company's treaties with Gurma and Borgu, of which Lord Salisbury and M. Ribot had cognisance, entitling it to the possession of that place ; moreover the French maps of that year show that they

an expense that would have made any Government hesitate, and would have kindled a religious war from Gurma to Lake Tchad.

* An admirably clear statement of the nature and scope of this principle is that contained in Sir G. Goldie's article on "Spheres of Influence" in the *Nineteenth Century* for December, 1892.

considered the western boundary of the Company's sphere as a line between Say and the Lagos boundary at the 9th parallel. Consistency, however, would not appear to be one of the French virtues, for when they acquired fresh territory on the coast, by the conquest of Dahomé in 1893, the French there evidently considered that previous British agreements with their compatriots to the northward did not impose any restrictions on an advance from Dahomé to the Middle Niger through Borgu.

They began by denying the right of the King of Borgu to be considered as anything but King of the *town* of that name, maintained that the King of Nikki was ruler of the Borgu country, and sent out four expeditions to extract a treaty from him. Fortunately the Company were able to secure the services of Capt. Lugard, who after a journey of great hardship, in the height of the wet season, managed to reach Nikki five days before Capt. Decoeur and secured the King's allegiance to the Company. Notwithstanding this, Decoeur with his 500 tirailleurs overawed the King and got him to sign a treaty with the French, and M. Alby, who appeared with another expedition on the heels of Decoeur, went so far as to deny the existence of the English treaty!

But the principal French coup was reserved until last year when Sir George Goldie, in the thick of the campaign against Bida and the Illorins, had been pledged by the Government not to engage in any operations north of Jebba, in order not to prejudice the negotiations then proceeding between the two countries in Paris for the settlement of former disputes. Marching due north from Dahomé, Bretonnet turned off sharp to the east and struck the Niger at Illo, from which point he descended and occupied Kandi and Nikki, while at the same time Baud and Vermeersch, "pour assurer la jonction du Dahomé au Soudan," entered Gurma. A French incursion across the Niger towards Argungu compelled the Sultan to seek assistance from the Company, and the Home Government

sent out Col. Lugard and a number of British officers to take charge of the now largely increased forces of the Company.

So matters remained until the Anglo-French commission gave its decision on the 14th of June last. The nature of the decision, in as far as it affects the Company, is distinctly unfavourable. The "Say-Barrua" line now skirts Wurnu at a hundred miles' distance, and is deflected south to Illo, a hundred miles below its former termination. The Company's western boundary is a line from Illo to the Lagos boundary, making a *détour* so as to leave Nikki within the French sphere. The Company therefore loses roughly the north-west corner of its square block of territory, including a hundred miles of partly navigable river.

Our claims to this lost territory are based on the following facts: treaties made by the Niger Company with Borgu fourteen years ago, which caused Lord Rosebery in 1885 to notify to the Powers a British Protectorate over the Borgu country; France was informally reminded of this protectorate in 1893 and in 1894, and again formally in 1895. To put the fact of their control beyond a doubt, the Company secured a second treaty with Borgu in 1890, and Capt. Lugard, as I have mentioned, obtained one with Nikki on the 10th November, 1897, sixteen days before the signing of the Decoeur-Alby treaty, the first French treaty (and that an invalid one for obvious reasons) in that region.* As to our rights over Say and the 100 miles of river also abandoned to the French, suffice it to say that prior even to 1890 the Company's treaties had given them control over Gurma, over western Gando, and over the Niger for 300 *miles up beyond Say*, and yet these facts did not deter the British Government from surrendering that 300 mile stretch to the French in 1890,† and the same facts have not

* "England and France on the Niger," Capt. F. D. Lugard, *Nineteenth Century*, June, 1895.

† In the same year the Anglo-German agreement laid down the boundary between the Company's territory and German Cameroons as running from

deterred the present Government from making an identical concession in this case.

The whole thing would be utterly inexplicable, had we not other examples of Foreign Office methods—in China, in Madagascar, and elsewhere—and the simple truth is that the French have played, and won, a game of bluff, relying upon that “prudence, tact, moderation and spirit of conciliation displayed by Lord Salisbury,” which M. Valfrey is never tired of extolling in the *Figaro*.

“When he has spoken,” says M. Valfrey, “no one has yet ventured to preach revolt.” Certainly the French have no cause to rebel against the terms which his “spirit of conciliation” (I had almost written “concession”) has led him to concede to them. As several influential organs remarked, “it is surely ridiculous for two civilized powers to go to war over a few square miles of savage territory”; and in order to emphasize its approval of that view the Government hastens to throw over treaty rights and protectorates and compensates France handsomely for the trouble she has gone to in ruffling her feathers and assuming a bellicose air. The French apparently consider that the proverb of diplomacy ultimately resting upon force holds good of dealings with not only African, but with certain European States also.

Their aim was a twofold one; firstly, to secure a continuous belt of territory between Dahomé and their inland possessions, in which they were completely successful; for as the Journal of the *Société de Géographie* remarks: “A l’heure actuelle nos colonies de l’Afrique occidentale (Algérie, Tunisie, Sénégal, Guinée française, Fouta-Djalon, Côte d’Ivoire, Soudan et Congo) communiquent toutes par leur hinterland respectif”; and secondly, to gain a footing on the Middle Niger, by means of which they could draw away much of the Company’s trade into their own territory.

the Rio del Rey estuary past Yola and so up to Lake Tchad, thus giving the Germans nearly the whole of Adamawa, with which the Company had longstanding treaties.

Here they have not succeeded, for the two *enclaves* leased to them for the landing and storage of bonded goods duty free are not likely to forward that object in any great measure.

Such are the results of a spirit of conciliation ; the surrender of territory which has been under British protection since 1885 in order that the French aim may be realized of consolidating and of uniting by a common hinterland their African possessions ; as compensation, we have the commendation of the French for our sensible recognition of what they are pleased to term their "rights," and a scheme of equal treatment for the products of the French and British possessions below the 10th parallel. It is the latest proof of the ancient inability shown by successive Governments to deal with West-African matters, and (indirectly) another argument in favour of the adoption of a uniform system of Imperial control for our West African possessions, which shall be directed by one competent Government department, and not as at present by two.*

The Royal Niger Company is unique among Chartered Companies for two reasons : firstly, its administrative power is in the hands of a trading company liable to competition with other Europeans within its jurisdiction. At first sight this would seem to be a power liable, and, in unscrupulous hands specially adapted, to be abused, but in this case it has only strengthened Sir George Goldie's policy of "friendly amalgamation" which alone has enabled the Company to present a united front, and to successfully begin the difficult task of welding the scattered States under

* The Gambia is a Crown Colony under the Colonial Office ; Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast and Lagos are also Crown Colonies as far as their seaboard is concerned, while their inland "protectorates" are "Crown Colonies in embryo." The Niger Coast Protectorate is administered by the Foreign Office, and the Royal Niger Company, although under the Foreign Office, is responsible for its own administration. The best way out of the difficulty and confusion (both of terms and administrations) which has come under my notice is that advocated by Col. Lugard in his article on "British West African Possessions" in *Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1895.

their control into a solid whole. Secondly, the Company is forbidden to earn profits on its capital by the imposition of customs and other dues. The amount of whatever dues it may levy is devoted solely to the cost of administration, and these dues apply not only to other traders, but also to the Company itself in its trading capacity, a proviso which precludes the possibility of a tariff that might be prejudicial to any rival trading interests within the Company's jurisdiction, and which in itself should have been sufficient to discredit the charges of illegal monopoly continually brought against the Company by certain interested and hostile individuals from 1886 down to the present day, and as often refuted by the late Lord Aberdare and Sir George Goldie, the two Governors of the Company.

The best answer to these charges, which I shall not discuss here, is the report of the Government's Special Commissioner, Major (now Sir Claude) Macdonald, who was sent out in 1896 in order to investigate, among other things, the truth of a charge preferred against the Company by a deputation of West Coast merchants to Lord Salisbury of having violated their Charter and international agreements by creating a monopoly and excluding rival trade from their territory. That report describes the administration of the Company as being "highly satisfactory as to progress, system, and observance of the Charter," to quote Sir James Ferguson's words in the House of Commons. Again, Mr. Curzon, replying to Sir Charles Dilke, stated that there was no foundation for the reiterated charge of illegal monopoly, while with regard to that of violating international agreements, he emphasized the fact that the Company's regulations, *issued under the authority of the Government, had been submitted to foreign powers, and not objected to.*

But it is not so much in a commercial as in a wider capacity—that of suzerain over the most civilized group of states in the whole of Africa—that the Company deserves attention. These States are known after their inhabitants

as the Hausa States, and extend approximately from Long. 4 E. to 11 E., and from Lat. 8 N. to 14 N. forming therefore the bulk of the Fulah empire of Sokoto,—for the ruling class is a Fulah Oligarchy. The Fulahs (probably a branch of the Gallas to the south of Abyssinia) settled among the Hausas some two hundred years ago, being then ostensibly Mohammedans, but not actively so until their Sheik Othman dan Fodio proclaimed a religious war at the beginning of this century, which resulted in their acquiring their present position in Hausaland; Zaria, Kano, Nupé, and Gando being the principal tributary States of Sokoto, although the allegiance of the latter is spiritual rather than temporal. Originally nomadic herdsmen, they are now the warriors and diplomatists, owning most of the cattle in the country, including horses; their subjects the Hausas are, on the other hand, a quiet race of fine physique, “the only Central African people who value a book,” as Stanley said, devoted to trade and extremely industrious; Kano, the largest Hausa town, is the greatest trade centre in the continent and famous all through Northern Africa for its native industries; cloth-weaving, cotton-growing, dyeing, tanning, and sandal-making (sandals being second only to cloth as an article of export). Kano cloth is to be found at places so widely removed as Lagos and Tripoli, Tunis and Alexandria. Some idea of the importance of the place may be gathered from Colonel Monteuil’s estimate of the number of people who pass through it every year,—two millions;* while its resident population, according to Canon Robinson, is over 100,000.

It is these Mohammedan-ruled Hausa States that the Niger Company is gradually opening up for British trade by introducing improved methods of government, and by suppressing the great barrier to the spread of civilization in the Soudan, namely, slave-raiding. The extent of this evil had hardly been realized in England until Canon Robinson published the result of his recent travels. Of

* “Saint Louis à Tripoli par le Tchad,” 1894, Colonel Monteuil.

the total population of the world, one in every 300 is a Hausa slave; they are sold 500 at a time in Kano market and as many as 1,000 are often brought in as the result of a single raid. The reason of this is that slaves form the currency of their rulers; three quarters of the tribute paid by subject States to Sokoto consists in slaves, and in order to raise his tribute a King will simply raid as many of his *own* villages as may be necessary and carry off the inhabitants, leaving the district a desert; the King of Adamawa, for instance, "pays" several thousand slaves a year to Sokoto.

This is the evil that the Company has set itself to grapple with, and from the outset it was evident that a conflict with the Mohammedan slave-raiding chiefs must sooner or later be the result. Native customs are things not to be eradicated suddenly and without difficulty, and the Company, in all its treaties, voluntarily binds itself "not to interfere with any of the native laws or customs of the country, consistent with the maintenance of order and good government, and the progress of civilization." But having abolished human sacrifices among the savages on the Lower Niger and Benué, the Company turned its attention to the suppression of slave-raiding, and Sir George Goldie began by forbidding the Emir of Bida (ruler of Nupé and the most powerful of the Sokoto vassals), to conduct any more raiding operations on the southern bank of the river, that is to say, in the greater part of his own territory of Nupé. For some years the Emir obeyed, but in 1896 he suddenly crossed the river with a large army, having previously secured the support of the Illorins. Sir George Goldie, with Major Arnold, personally directed the punitive campaign which resulted in the complete discomfiture of the Fulah armies; the 500 Hausa infantry of the Company defeated 25,000 Fulahs in the two days' battle of Bida, that being the first occasion on which they had ever fought against fellow Mohammedans.* It was

* "Campaigning on the Upper Nile and Niger." Lieut. Seymour Vandeleur, D.S.O., Scots Guards. 1898.

the end of slave-raiding in that region and in March, 1897, the legal status of slavery was officially abolished ; in cases where the *ci-devant* slaves have been well treated by their masters, they generally elect to remain where they are ; those who have been ill-used come south and receive from the Company allotments of unoccupied land.

Festina lente is the Company's motto in this as in other things, for the suppression of slave-raiding is a blow struck at the chief privilege and source of revenue of the ruling class throughout Hausaland, namely the Mohammedan Fulahs ; the peace of the country is to a great extent assured by the Company's policy of "ruling on African principles through native rulers," but there is always the great danger that any hasty or ill-considered measures of political change may arouse not only disaffection but religious fanaticism, which would not improbably lead to a very serious war.

Egypt monopolises so much of the public interest that "Soudan" is synonymous for most people with the basin of the Upper Nile ; they forget that the Soudan stretches from Abyssinia to Senegambia, and that its rulers and tribes are closely connected, as much by reason of their common religion, Mohammedanism, as by their ways of thought and trade intercourse. The Mahdi's proclamations from Khartoum were once found posted up in Bida, two thousand miles away, and the revolt of the Emir of Nupe last year was owing to orders from the Khalifa at Omdurman, so that a religious war might quickly assume dangerous proportions.

• Among such peoples it is diplomatic and not high-handed methods that are most effective, but, as Sir George Goldie rightly insists, there must be the idea of *force* behind the diplomacy ; I say the idea, because its concrete form, the policy of ruling, "not by principles but Maxims," is seldom productive of good results from any point of view, and it seems to me that not the least of the Company's titles to fame will be its recognition of the native as the

principal factor to be considered,—and not thrust on one side,—in the opening up and civilizing of West Africa.

This recognition of the native as a coadjutor and an ally, rather than as a necessary evil, incapable of improvement, is in keeping with the best traditions of British methods, and a distinct contrast to those which are just now to the fore in some of the Crown Colonies on the West Coast, which brings me to the final portion of this article, the approaching transfer of the Royal Niger Company's territories to the Imperial Government; the preliminaries have been settled and the present delay is owing only to the fact that legislation next session will be necessary before the final settlement can take place.

Eighteen years ago Sir George Goldie came to the conclusion that "the Central African problem can be solved only by Chartered Companies, so far at least as Great Britain is concerned." A Chartered Company is an admirable means of winning such territories for the Empire, freed as it is from the restrictions of a bureaucracy and from Parliamentary interference; its connection with the Home Government is designedly a loose one, and the consequences of its actions do not therefore involve the national honour or render the nation liable to be plunged into a costly foreign war, though most people erroneously adopt the opposite view. Sooner or later, its work of pacification and consolidation is ended, and having thus "borne the burden and heat of the day" it gives way to direct Imperial control with little or no previous expense to the Government. The question in the present case is whether the transfer is or is not premature. Although Sir George Goldie in 1885 urged upon the Government the advisability of forbidding the Company to trade (as was afterwards done in the case of the North Borneo Company), this course was not adopted, and I am inclined to think unfortunately; for the Company has been obliged to trade in order to pay its dividends, maintaining fifty or sixty trading stations and a large staff, and had it been freed

from the necessity of so doing, all its energies might have been devoted to the task of development and administration for which it has shown itself so well fitted. An official administration is infinitely more costly and certainly less effective, if we may judge from the troubles in Sierra Leone, and red tape and ignorance (as exemplified there also) are so fatal to progress in new territories that one may well be excused a feeling of apprehension regarding the effect that official methods are likely to have on the future of Nigeria.

If there is one thing that is indispensable in the Niger territories it is continuity of administration, and this has been attained so far by the Company's council *in London* personally dealing with every administrative question that arises. For the executive work there are the two Agents-general with wide powers, who replace each other on the Niger at short intervals, as the climate is the greatest obstacle to continuous local government by Europeans. An Imperial administration for Nigeria, in order to be a success, will have to adapt itself to the climatic conditions which have led Sir George Goldie to insist upon the vital importance of having such a permanent council, which must sit in London ; moreover, it can only carry on the administration with success if it be responsible to a Secretary of State alone, and free from Parliamentary interference. The successful development of Nigeria would, I think, be far better assured by leaving the administration, in its present abnormal form, in the practised hands of the Company, forbidding it to trade and either compensating it for, or allowing it to retain, all its private rights and property as a limited company, than by transferring the whole of its functions to the control of the Colonial Office.

The Hon. East India Company was forbidden to trade in 1833, and confined itself to administering the territories under its control for some twenty years, at the end of which period they were ready to be taken over by the Government. The arguments for a similar period of

transition in the present case are far stronger, for the condition of our West African Colonies after years of Official control is not such as to impress one with a favourable idea of the Government's ability to maintain and promote the development of the Niger territories. In the next few months, however, the new arrangement will be known.

From all sides there is a closing in towards the remaining "open space" of Africa; the British from Egypt up the Nile valley, from Kassala and East Africa; the Belgians from the Congo, and the French from Algiers, Congo Français, Somaliland and the Tchad basin, and, within a year or two, the Upper Nile and the Bahr-el-Ghazal region may have become another portion of the vast sphere which a century of steady policy has won for the French, provided we do not checkmate them. The French completion of the Suez Canal has been mainly responsible for whatever policy we have in the Nile valley, and apart from Egypt there is only one spot on the map to which we can point and say, "*Here* we have had a policy!" namely the territory of the Royal Niger Company, and that policy and its results are owing, not to the Government, but to private enterprise.

AN AUSTRALIAN COMMONWEALTH.

BY G. B. BARTON, SYDNEY.

"It is good in the English," said Goethe, "that they are always for being practical in their dealing with things ; *aber sie sind pedanten*." They are pedants, he is supposed to have meant, not in the sense of an old-fashioned adherence to worn-out formulas, but in the substitution of conventional ideas for a true insight into things. A remarkable instance of this trait in the national character presents itself where we should least expect to find it. Englishmen transplanted to a colony, and still more their descendants, might be supposed to throw off their hereditary reverence for the creeds and customs of their ancestors in course of time, and to develop modes of thought more congenial to their new surroundings. It was so in the case of the men who first settled the North American continent ; but the Anglo-Australian of the present day appears to be just as conventional as any of his forefathers, and just as deficient in the faculty of insight.

This at least is an impression derived from the "Draft of a Bill to constitute the Commonwealth of Australia," recently adopted by a Convention of the delegates of five out of the six colonies—Queensland not being represented. It is, in effect, the second edition of a Bill framed by a Convention which met in Sydney in 1891, when the six colonies and New Zealand were represented. The title would lead one to suppose that the federating colonies were about to strike for independence and form a Republic ; but that idea is modified by the preamble, which informs us that their several peoples "have agreed to unite in one indissoluble Federal Commonwealth under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland." The term Commonwealth being the acknowledged equivalent,

among jurists, of the term Republic, it may be inferred that it was selected by the Convention as the proper one to indicate their political aspirations. It will not be without interest to see how they proposed to construct a form of government which, outwardly of the old English monarchical type, is essentially American and Republican. Such a structure has the obvious advantage, or disadvantage, of presenting two fronts to the spectator, whose impressions of the whole will largely depend on his point of view.

The projected constitution is to consist of a Governor-General representing the Queen, aided and advised by a Federal Executive Council, of whom seven are to be Ministers in charge of departments, who must have seats in one or other of the two Houses. The object of this restriction is to provide for the conduct of public business on the system of "responsible" government—that is, a party in, office, and a party out. The Parliament is to be composed of a House of Representatives, elected every three years on a basis of manhood suffrage, and a Senate, composed of six senators from each State, directly chosen by the electors of each on the same suffrage. The senators are to hold office for a term of six years, and one half of them are to retire every third year, when a fresh election is to be held. The voting for the Lower House is to take place in electoral districts, but for the other, each State is to be one electorate. No property, or other qualification, beyond that of an elector, is required from the members of either House, who are to receive £400 a year each, as an "allowance for services."

In this extraordinary combination we may see at a glance what the poet meant by the substitution of conventional ideas for a true political insight. If there be any two political systems radically opposed to each other, they are the English system of party government, bending to every change of the popular will, and the American one, embodied in the fixed, automatic, and immovable Senate of the United States—a body which has never lost a chance of

asserting its independence of all popular influences whatsoever.

There is certainly an attempt in the Bill to make the Senate of the Australian Commonwealth a more flexible affair than its prototype, by subjecting it, in the first instance, to direct election by the people of each State, instead of by the State Legislature; and in the second, to a simultaneous dissolution of both Houses, to be followed by a joint sitting, in the event of a deadlock arising between them. But what reason is there to suppose that either or both of these experimental contrivances would have the desired effect? For one thing, they have never been tried before in any similar combination, and therefore they are subject to the disadvantage of all experiments in a new field. And what is there, in the political history of these colonies, to justify the belief that any new experiment will produce better results than the old ones? They have surely had experience enough to warn them against experimental devices in their constitutional struggles. They have seen in Victoria that an elective Upper House has never hesitated to thwart a lower one, when any principle was at stake, even at the cost of successive deadlocks between the two, plunging the whole colony into disorder. And they have seen, too, that every unconstitutional device resorted to by the infuriated democrats who ruled the one has been tried, and tried in vain, for the purpose of making the other "subservient to the popular will."

Out of the many lessons that might have been learned through this bitter experience, this one at least is conspicuous—that party government cannot be smoothly worked in these days of advancing democracy with an elective Upper House. No matter on what suffrage it may be elected, or what the qualifications of its members may be, the result will always be the same, and for reasons which have their springs in human nature. Some critics have accounted for the "anti-democratic" action of the Victorian Upper House, on the occasions referred to, by pointing to the conservative

character of the franchise, and the property qualifications of the members. But this is a superficial view of the matter. Senators in the United States require no property qualification, whereas senators in Canada must have a freehold worth a clear £200 a year; but while one body has never shown the slightest tendency to independent action, the other is distinguished, above all other legislative chambers in the world, by that very character.

The true explanation of the combative instincts which will always show themselves between two elected Houses, must be sought in other influences than these. In the Victorian case, it will be found in the fact that while one House was elected for three years, and was therefore a transient body, the other was elected for six, with rotation of members, and was therefore virtually a continuous, or permanent, one. Perennially refreshed by these elections, and conscious of the power behind it, it claimed all the powers of a co-ordinate Chamber, except as to the initiation of money bills.

The Convention of 1897 evidently thought, in the first instance, that they had found a sufficient check against collisions between the Houses by adopting two democratic principles—first, the substitution of election by the people for appointment by the State Legislatures, and secondly, the doing away with all restrictions as to suffrage and qualifications of members. But the democrats in the larger colonies not being satisfied with these concessions, and demanding guarantees for “majority rule” in the event of deadlocks, elaborate provisions were subsequently inserted in the Bill with that view. They provided that, in the event of a difference arising between the Houses, the Governor-General might dissolve both together; and if that did not answer, that they should then sit together, when a three-fifths majority should settle the question. This was the outcome of many long and laboured discussions between the advocates of State rights and the champions of democracy. The latter tried hard to carry a provision for

the Referendum, or mass vote, in place of the joint sitting, as the only means of securing "the rule of the majority"; but they were met by a claim for a Referendum to the States, as well as one to the people; and seeing that one would simply neutralize the other, both were abandoned.

Strong objections were raised to these deadlock provisions by the delegates from the smaller colonies, who contended that they would have the effect of annihilating the security they held for their States in the shape of equal representation in the Senate. But while they would undoubtedly take the gilt off their gingerbread in the eyes of democrats, they would be absolutely futile as remedies for a deadlock. In the first place, while an appeal to the people is an easy means of settling a difficulty between the Government and the Opposition under the English constitution, it does not follow that it would do so under this semi-American one. For if the Senate were sent to the country as well as the House of Representatives, the voting in the single State electorates might, and probably would, be diametrically opposed to the voting in the electoral districts, in which case the Senate would come back from the country with redoubled strength. The State vote would always be a conservative one, while the district voting would be more or less democratic.

Under any circumstances, it is hardly conceivable that a Premier, after having dissolved both Houses, and been again defeated in the Senate, would find much comfort in a joint sitting. A short calculation will show what his chances would be. The total number of members being ninety-four, a three-fifths majority would be fifty-five. Supposing that the representatives of the two large colonies, Victoria and New South Wales, with a total population of 2,500,000, were all acting together, and were all present, they would muster fifty-nine votes, against thirty-five from the three small colonies, with a total population of 700,000. In that case, "the rule of the majority" would win by four votes. But supposing that their votes were split on the question,

or that half a dozen of them were absent, then "majority rule" would not win. At the present time of writing, the Bill is before the electors, who will be asked to record their votes, yes or no, at the Referendum to take place on the 3rd of June; and among the many objections taken to it by its opponents, the most conspicuous is that of the democrats, who fiercely contend that the vital principle of majority rule is endangered by the very machinery invented to protect it.*

The prospect of a hostile Senate would probably deter any Premier from placing himself in such a dilemma, and before long the deadlock clauses would come to be a dead-letter. They probably would, in any case, owing to the enormous expense and loss of time involved in an appeal to such constituencies as New South Wales, Victoria, South and Western Australia. These vast electorates, by the way, form one of the many experiments in the constitution which would certainly give rise to trouble, and amendments of the electoral system would be clamoured for at no distant time—although the constitution is one that virtually could not be amended. The democrats denounce the single State electorates because they see no chance for democratic candidates in a contest under such circumstances. They ridicule the idea of candidates attempting to stump constituencies whose area in square miles ranges from 310,700 in New South Wales, to close upon a million in Western Australia. Wealthy men only, they say, could hope to canvass such electorates with any chance of success; and even they would have but a small show unless their claims to election were supported by the metropolitan press. A democrat might feel at ease in a small electoral district; but he would be simply nowhere when he had to take his chance at the hands of some two or three hundred thousand electors, in whose eyes he would be an unknown quantity.

The position of a Premier, in a constitution of this nature,

* *Note by the Editor.*—At the Referendum, the Bill was accepted in Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania, and rejected in New South Wales.

would be anything but enviable when the inevitable conflicts among the States began. Supposing, for instance, that after he had sent the senators to the country, and then found that the new lot, as much opposed to his policy as the old, had won at the joint sitting, would he be under any obligation to resign? According to English practice, as long as a Premier has a majority in the lower House, he may remain in office; but a Federal Premier would not stand in the same position. He could not remain in office with a majority of the States against him, and treat their opposition with the jaunty indifference that a provincial Premier might treat that of a Legislative Council. Public opinion would not allow him to withdraw his measures, and retain office; for surely the voting in the States, as States, would be a better and stronger exponent of public opinion than the voting in the districts. It would at least carry more weight.

Conscious, no doubt, of these difficulties in the working of such a complex piece of machinery, the Convention of 1891 provided that Ministers might hold office without holding seats in Parliament; but their democratic successors in 1897-8 insisted on their being members of either one House or the other. The draftsman of the former Bill, Sir Samuel Griffith, now Chief Justice of Queensland, did not conceal his opinion that responsible government would sooner or later prove impracticable in a Federal Constitution. "Would the States as States," he asked, "be content to be bound by the executive acts of Ministers, merely because they possessed the confidence of the popular House? And if they insisted on withholding their confidence, and refused to provide the necessary supplies until a change was made, it is hard to see what alternative there would be to a change of Ministers. Lately, in the French Republic, the Senate by this means compelled a change of Ministers."

Confident, apparently, that responsible government will have to give way to some other system not so susceptible of

party influence, he pointed out its probable substitutes. "You might either have an American Cabinet," he said, "chosen by the President with the approval of the Senate, or you might have a Swiss one, elected for a term by the Houses. In either case, it should be left to the Federal Parliament to decide whether its members should have seats in it or not."

Here is a singular instance of the taste for experiments, which seems to distinguish Australian legislators. First, we have a proposal to connect responsible government with an all-powerful Senate, with the knowledge that the two forces would never work together; and then, when the inevitable crash comes, responsible government is to be thrown overboard, to make room for some other form of government, of which the Colonies have not had any experience. So well were these difficulties foreseen in 1891 that a prophet in the Convention put them in an epigram—"either responsible government will kill federation, or federation will kill responsible government."

No wonder that there is a great and growing dissatisfaction in the Colonies with the system facetiously called "responsible" government. It has long ceased to be responsible, except in name; for Ministers everywhere enjoy the privilege of knocking the Constitution about as they please, and laugh at the idea of responsibility. They open Parliament when it suits their convenience, and they shut it up by a prorogation when it threatens to be nasty. Latterly, things have come to such a pass that the policy of the Executive is practically shaped by a small section of the Lower House in each colony, known as a "Labour Party"—a state of things popularly described as "the tail wagging the dog." Holding the balance of power between the two parties of Ins and Outs, it exacts a heavy price for its support in the shape of concessions which would not otherwise be entertained for a moment—from a Bill to regulate the hours of labour and the rates of wages to one for a reform of the Constitution. By the way, is this

excrescence on the Parliamentary system to be regarded as simply a result of natural development, or as a disease arising from a complication of internal disorders? Is it something to be cherished and made much of, as a proof of health and vitality, or is it simply a sign of virus and decay?

The political reformers in the Colonies who look forward to a Cabinet framed on the American or the Swiss pattern have evidently not weighed the arguments used in the United States by those who wish to substitute responsible government for their own system. Disgusted with the excesses of party warfare carried on by the "Boss," they hope to find a cure for them by placing their party leaders in the House of Representatives. The project is palpably vain, because the Constitution would not admit of such a change without radical alterations; but it is not more so than the proposal to displace the responsible for the fixed Cabinet in the Australian Federation. The American Executive implies a political head with a declared policy, and the power of selecting and changing his advisers, subject to the approval of the Senate; but a Governor-General in Australia would not be a political head, he would not have a declared policy, nor would he have the power of choosing his advisers without reference to the popular House. A similar difficulty would occur in the case of a Swiss Cabinet. With Ministers elected by the Houses, what would become of His Excellency the Governor-General, and what would his place be in the Constitution?

Perhaps the most conventional of all the conventional ideas to be found in this constitution is the doctrine of equal State representation in the Senate. Under this rule, New South Wales and Victoria, with a total population of 2,500,000, are to enjoy precisely the same amount of power in the Senate as Tasmania, South, and Western Australia, with a total population of 700,000. The relative disproportion in population is a trifle compared with the relative dis-

proportion in territory, wealth, commerce, and industry. The claim for equal representation on the part of the smaller colonies rests on no better basis than the analogy of the American and Swiss Constitutions—in forgetfulness of the fact that there is very little analogy between sovereign and independent States, and colonies dependent on the Crown.

The inequity of the doctrine in the case of these colonies would become still more manifest in the event of new colonies being formed by sub-division. Queensland, for instance, will probably be cut up into three colonies in a few years; and should they be admitted into the union, each would consider itself entitled to equal representation with the rest, although its population might be insignificant. The Bill certainly provides that the Federal Parliament may, in such cases, fix the number of representatives in either House; but there can be little doubt that the doctrine of equality would prevail.

The arguments used in support of equal representation are problematical, if not fanciful. It is said, for instance, that it is necessary in order to protect the integrity of the smaller colonies against possible aggressions on the part of the larger. But the Constitution protects their integrity by providing that neither their constitutions nor their territories shall be touched without their consent. It is also said to be necessary in order to protect them from being swamped or out-voted. But one of the gravest objections to the scheme lies in the fact that they could combine their votes at any time in order to swamp their neighbours, and that they probably would do so if any occasion for doing it should arise.

The choice of a Federal Capital—a question of paramount interest—may be taken as one of many instances in which the interests of the small States would be found to conflict with those of their more powerful neighbours. The tendency to conflict between the two arises mainly from their geographical position. The people of New South Wales naturally seek to make Sydney the capital

of the federation, while the Victorians and South Australians as reasonably strive to obtain the honour and advantage for Melbourne or Adelaide. But inasmuch as the representatives of Western Australia, Tasmania, and South Australia would have to travel considerable distances in order to attend Parliament, it is quite conceivable that they would give a block vote for either Adelaide or Melbourne, as the more convenient position. No one would be surprised if they should do so; it would be the most natural thing in the world. But, then, what they could do in the matter of a federal capital they could as easily do in any other—say, for instance, in matters of expenditure and taxation.

The temptation to adopt conventional ideas in forming a federal constitution is no doubt difficult to resist. They have the prestige of authority, and are presumed to embody the wisdom of ages. Constitutions are mostly made by lawyers, and lawyers are mostly led by precedents. But where the surrounding circumstances are peculiar and novel as they are in Australia, there is an obvious danger in taking it for granted that theories and principles which have worked tolerably well in other parts of the world would work just as well there. It is not so easy to transplant and acclimatise such products as it may seem to be. They are usually things of slow growth, and natives of the soil in which they spring.

THE FUTURE INDUSTRIAL PROSPECTS OF THE WEST INDIES.

By H. OTTO THOMAS.

THAT the fate of the British West Indies has come to be dependent upon the price of one species of industry is significant of the economic spirit of the age. Patriotism unhappily is giving place to commercialism, and the past history of our oldest colonies apparently excites little interest. Even the ties of blood-relationship, and our common allegiance to the Throne, fail to make us for the most part other than indifferent to the future condition of our West India colonies. Yet their future prospects lie more or less in the hands of the "indifferent" people of Great Britain rather than in the hands of the present, or any future, Government.

The Report of the West India Royal Commission clearly, though perhaps unconsciously, demonstrates this, which I shall endeavour to show. Briefly, the Report summarizes as follows :

(a) The British West Indies are practically entirely dependent upon the cultivation of the sugar-cane. The total exports of produce and manufactures for the year 1896 amounted to £6,106,000, or excluding Jamaica (whose returns were not complete) and gold from British Guiana, £3,945,000. Of this latter amount the exports of the products of the sugar-cane equal £2,951,000, or 75 per cent.

(b) Owing to the great fall in prices during the past fifteen years—due to a cause which will be presently referred to—the cultivation of the cane is, except in special circumstances, no longer profitable. Indeed, it has ceased to be so for some years, and as a consequence many of the islands are virtually in a state of bankruptcy and the industry is threatened with total extinction.

(c) Should this extinction be brought about "the con-

sequences are likely to be of a very serious character." There will be a "great want of employment"; the public revenue will fall off; the Governments of some of Her Majesty's possessions will be unable to meet absolutely necessary public expenditure; education will suffer; and the standard of living "be reduced to a lamentable extent in every colony which is largely dependent on sugar." Further, it is declared that "there is every reason to believe that a very serious condition of things is *rapidly* approaching," and that "the crisis will be reached in a very few years." The recent meetings in Jamaica, at which union with the United States has been suggested as a solution of the present difficulty, is a clear indication that the crisis is at hand.

How, then, may the crisis be averted? The Commissioners are of opinion that "the restoration of the sugar industry to a condition in which it can be profitably carried on" is the only remedy that will completely avert the dangers which *now* threaten Her Majesty's West India possessions. How to bring about this restoration raises the question "What has caused the fall in prices which is primarily responsible for the present condition of things?" The answer is of course the very great increase in the production of beet-root sugar, artificially cheapened to some extent by means of bounties it is true; but cheapened to a far greater extent by economy in production.

I do not purpose entering upon the thorny path which leads to the discussion of bounties; their evil effects, and how to abolish them. All agree that they *are* evil in their effects, unsound from the economic point of view, and that they should be abolished. What seems to be evident, however, is that, whether the bounties be abolished or not will make very little difference to the prospects of the cultivation of the cane in the British West Indies. The want of economy in the production of cane sugar, coupled with the desire for too large a profit in the past, is in my opinion the main cause of beet-root sugar taking its place in the

British markets, so bringing about the present disastrous state of affairs, and this is the real evil to be remedied.

"In Germany and other Continental countries the cultivation of beet and the manufacture of sugar are now being carried on with the greatest care, and with the assistance of the most improved machinery and the best chemical skill." These remarks will not apply equally to the cultivation of cane and the manufacture of sugar in the British West Indies. But until they do there is no real hope for the industry.

It may be found impossible to produce cane sugar quite as cheaply as from beet-root, but it seems quite possible to make the cost of production in each case very nearly correspond. The difference in freightage is at present considerable, but may be reduced. Greater economy, however, in production is certainly possible. If we assume—which seems probable—that beet-root sugar will always be produced at a slightly lower cost than from the cane, we have to inquire "What hope have we that the demand for cane in the markets of the world will still continue?" This demand must be fostered—in Great Britain almost re-created—and this is why I suggest that the future of our "sugar-growing West India Colonies" lies largely in the hands of the people rather than the Government of this country.

An increasing number of medical and other authorities maintain that cane is superior to beet-root for the following reasons :

(a) It is more wholesome. Medical authorities attribute the increase of diabetes and other complaints to the use of beet-root sugar.

(b) Its sweetening properties are greater.

(c) Therefore it is more economical in use.

(d) For chemical purposes generally it is preferred.

If these facts can be "driven home" to the people, our merchants will be required to supply pure cane sugar instead of beet-root to their customers, and a regular demand will thereby be created, which will continue to exist, notwith-

standing any slight difference in cost. As a matter of fact, although the poorer classes are entirely influenced by the question of cost, the middle and upper classes are—as a whole—so far indifferent to it, and also to the matter of quality, that they generally pay* as much for beet-root as would purchase pure cane if they insisted upon receiving it. In this connection, however, there is a minor difficulty. Except in the case of pure cane “Demerara crystals,” which are readily distinguishable from “yellow crystals” (coloured beet-root sugar), it is impossible for anyone but the expert to distinguish, at sight, between beet-root and pure cane.

Mr. Chamberlain’s scheme of grants being only of a temporary character does not in my opinion touch the main question of the future of the islands, the solution of which lies in the means and cost of production and increased facilities and cheapness in transit.

* Pure cane “Demerara crystals” can be profitably sold at 1½d. per lb., pure cane lump at 2d. per lb., and other kinds equally cheap.

THE HOLY WRITINGS OF THE SIKHS.

BY M. MACAULIFFE, B.C.S. (RET.).

III.*

THE Gurus Har Gobind, Har Rai, Har Kishan, the sixth, seventh, and eighth gurus respectively, have left no hymns or memoirs of their doctrines. Tegh Bahadur, the ninth guru, has left slokhs and hymns principally devoted to the transitory character of life, the hollowness of human friendship, and the supreme efficacy of the repetition of God's name as a means of eternal deliverance. The following is an example :

My beloved friends, know this in your hearts :

The whole world is entangled in its own pleasures ; nobody is anyone else's friend.

In prosperity many persons come to visit one, and sit round him on every side ;

But when adversity befalleth him, all abandon him and nobody cometh near him.

The wife of one's home, who hath been dearly loved and hath ever been with her husband,

When his soul leaveth his body, fleeth away crying out "Ghost ! Ghost !"

This is the way of the world even with those whom we love.

At the last moment, O Nanak, none but God is of any avail.

Under the early gurus, the Sikh religion was a system of quietism. Baba Nanak and some of his successors lived, as far as the duties of their position allowed them, in philosophic and spiritual tranquillity. Guru Har Gobind was the first who gave a martial direction to the religion. He carried arms, gave his attention to the chase, and employed numerous secular retainers. It is, however, in the person of Guru Gobind Singh that the Sikh religion acquired its highest martial character—a character which is still impressed on it, and which has rendered the Sikhs some of the finest soldiers of the East. Under him the use of the undoubtedly pernicious drug tobacco ceased among his followers. He taught them to carry steel always about their persons. They were to wear long hair, probably to protect them from the swords of their enemies. Inwound in it they were always to carry steel. They were to wear bracelets of steel, a sword and dagger, and the epithet all-steel was applied to the Omnipotent. All this was the result of the uncompromising antagonism of the Muhammadans to Guru Gobind Singh's spiritual and temporal authority. His metrical compositions are saturated with the highly militant doctrines which the prophet of Makka preached to his followers, and which are found in no sparing quantity in his Kuran and traditional sayings.

Guru Gobind Singh prescribed a form of baptism called Pahul for his followers. The following verses are chanted on this occasion :

I have wandered and in their own homes seen crowds of Saraogis, Sudhs, Sidhs, Jogis, and Jatis.

Heroes, demons, pure and impure, crowds of saints of various sects,

I have seen the religions of all countries, but none appeared to be that of the Lord of life.

* For first and second parts, see page 371, April, 1898, and page 98, July, 1898.

Without a particle of the love and favour of God, they are only worth a ratti.*

Emperors before whom strong armed kings used to lowly bow their heads in countless numbers,

Who possessed proud elephants with golden trappings, incomparable, tall, painted with bright colours ;

Millions of horses which bounded like deer and surpassed the pace of the wind—

What mattered it how great those emperors were, they at last departed bare-footed.

Though they roamed, conquered all countries, and beat their various drums *in token of sovereignty.*

Though many beautiful elephants trumpeted loud, and thousands of horses of royal breed neighed for them—

Who can number such kings in the past, the future, and the present? They cannot be counted—

Yet without repeating God's name they finally went to their last home.

Men bathe at places of pilgrimage, exercise mercy, curb their passions, give gifts, practise abstinence, and perform various special ceremonies ;

The Veds, the Puranas, the Kuran, and the books of the Musalmans, the earth and heaven, all have I seen.

Thousands of fasters, Jatis who practised continence, all have I carefully observed.

Yet without repeating the name of the one God and loving Him, even kings are of no account.

Trained soldiers, powerful, irresistible, well accoutred with coats of mail, crush their enemies ;

Filled with high martial spirit, they would put mountains to flight without being shaken themselves ;

They shatter their enemies, destroy rebels, crush the pride of furious elephants ;

Yet without the favour of God they depart at last and leave the world.

Countless heroes very valiant, who without hesitation face the edge of the sword,

Subdue countries, crush rebels, and the pride of furious elephants ;

For whom it were easy to break powerful forts, and even without fighting conquer in every direction ;—

But the Lord is the Commander of them all ; the suppliants are several, while there is but one Giver.

Even the demons, gods, serpents, and ghosts who repeat God's name in the past, future, and present,

All the creatures which in sea and land every moment set up God in their hearts,

Shall find their good deeds and glory increase ; they shall hear the voices of congratulation, and the multitude of their sins shall depart.

The congregations of saints wander happy in the world, and all their enemies on beholding them are cowed.

Heroes, Indras, Kings of the Indras, rulers who reign in the three worlds,

Who perform millions of ablutions, give gifts of elephants and other things, and marry brides at various splendid swayambaras ;

They with Brahma, Shiv, Vishnu, and Indra, shall at last be entangled and fall into Jam's net.

But those who touch the feet of the Lord shall not again assume a body.

What availeth it to sit closing both one's eyes and meditating like a crane ?

This world is lost, the next world is also lost for those who go about bathing in the seven seas,

And who pass their lives dwelling in the midst of sin.

I speak verily, hear me all ye people, those who love God have obtained Him.

Some worshipping stones put them on their heads ; some suspend lingams from their necks ;

Some see God in the East ; some bow their heads to the West.

Some fools worship idols ; others busy themselves with worshipping the dead.

The whole world is entangled with false ceremonies, and hath not found God's secret.

* The inedible fruit of a species of Zizyphus, used as a grain weight.

The following is a satire on various penances and austerities practised by Hindu sects in India :

Swine eat filth ; elephants and donkeys bespatter themselves with dust ; jackals live at places of cremation ;

Owls live in mausoleums ; the deer wander lonely in the forest ; trees ever die in silence.

The eunuch should have the same credit as the man who restraineth his seed ; monkeys ever wander bare-footed.

How shall the wretch who is subject to a woman and devoted to lust and wrath be saved without the knowledge of the one God ?

It is known that demons live in the forest, all children on earth drink milk, and serpents live on air.

Those who eat grass and renounce the desire of wealth are considered as calves and oxen.

Those who fly in the heavens obtain the praise of a bird ; cranes, cats, and wolves engage in meditation.

All the great possessors of divine knowledge knew this, but disclosed it not ; such hypocrisy should not be allowed to enter your hearts even by mistake.

Those who live in the earth should be called the offspring of worms ; those who fly in the heavens should be called birds.

The following is a homily on the equality of men, and of the Hindu and Muhammadan forms of worship :

Some men are Hindus and some Musalmans.

Among the latter are Rawázis, Imams, and Sufis ; know that all men are of the same caste.

The Creator and the Beneficent are the same ; the Provider and the Merciful are the same ; there is no difference ; let no one suppose so even by mistake.

Worship the one God, He is the one Divine Guru for all ; know that His form is one, and that He is the one light diffused in all.

The Temple and the Mosque are the same, the Hindu worship and the Musalman prayer are the same ; all men are the same ; it is through error they appear different.

Deities, Demons, Yachas, Heavenly Singers, Musalmans, and Hindus adopt the dress of their different countries.

All men have the same eyes, the same ears, the same body, the same build, a mixture of dirt, air, fire, and water.

Allah and Alekh are the same, the Puranas and the Kuran are the same ; they are all alike, it is the one God who created all.

The following gives the Sikh conception of the manner in which souls have emanated from God, and are again united with Him :

As from one fire millions of sparks arise ; though rising separately, they unite again in the fire.

As from one heap of dust several particles of dust fill the air, and are again blended with the dust.

As in one stream millions of waves are produced ; the waves being made of water all become water ;

So from God's form sentient and non-sentient things are manifested ; and springing from Him shall all be united in Him again.

The following is Guru Gobind Singh's address to his weapons, which to him were the visible and tangible symbols of Divinity :

I bow with love and devotion to the Holy Sword !

Assist me, that I may complete this work.

The Sword is the subdaer of countries, the destroyer of the armies of the wicked ; in the battle field it greatly adorneth the brave.

Its arm is infrangible, its brightness is refulgent, its radiance and splendour dazzle like the sun.

It bestoweth happiness on the good, it terrifieth the evil, it disperseth sinners : I seek its protection.

Hail, hail to thee, Creator of the world, Saviour of Creation, my Cherisher, hail to thee, O Sword.

I bow to Him who holdeth the arrow in His hand ; I bow to the Fearless One.

I bow to the God of gods, who is in the present and the future.

Guru Gobind Singh speaks as follows regarding himself :

I shall now tell my own history—

How God brought me into the world as I was performing penance.

On the Mountain of Hem Kant,

Where the seven peaks are conspicuous—

The place is called the Seven Horns—

Where King Pand practised jog,

There I performed great austerities,

And worshiped Mahakál and Kálka.

I performed such penance

That I became blended with God.

My father and mother had also worshipped the Unseen One,

And practised jog in many ways.

The Supreme Guru was pleased

With their devotion to *Him*, the Unseen One.

When God gave me the order,

I assumed birth in this Kaljug.

I did not desire to come,

As my attention was fixed on God's feet.

But God remonstrated with me in every way.

He called me when I was performing austerities,

And sent me into the world with the following order—

“ I have cherished thee as my son ;

I have created thee to extend my religion.

Go and spread my religion there,

And restrain the world from senseless acts.”

I stood up, clasped my hands, bowed my head, and replied :

“ Thy religion shall prevail in the world

When Thou grantest assistance.”

On this account God sent me.

Then I took birth, and came into the world.

As He spoke to me, so I speak to *men*.

I bear no enmity to any one.

All who call me the supreme being

Shall fall into the pit of hell.

Recognise me as God's servant only.

Have no doubt whatever of this :

I am the slave of the Supreme Being,

And have come to behold the wonders of the world.

I tell the world what God told me ;

I shall not remain silent through fear of man.

What God told me I tell ;

I pay no regard to anyone.

I am satisfied with no religious garb.

I sow the seed of the invisible.

I am not a worshipper of stones,

Nor am I satisfied with any religious garb.

I shall sing the name of the Infinite,

And obtain the Supreme Being.

I shall not wear matted hair on my head, .
 Nor shall I put on ear-rings.
 I shall pay no regard to anyone but God ;
 What God told me I shall do.
 I shall repeat the one Name,
 Which shall be of use everywhere.
 I will not repeat any other name,
 Nor establish any other *God in my heart*.
 I shall meditate on the name of the Endless One,
 And obtain the Supreme Light.
 I shall meditate on no one else,
 And repeat no other name.
 I am imbued, () Lord, with Thy name alone.
 No other honour shall intoxicate me.
 I shall meditate on the Supreme,
 And thus remove endless sins.
 I am enamoured of Thy form ;
 No other gift hath charms for me.
 I shall repeat Thy name alone,
 And avoid endless sorrow.

The above specimens from the sacred writings of the Sikhs are merely intended to show the public to some extent what they contain. As already stated, the Sikh scriptures are very voluminous, and a full translation of them would fill many volumes.

I have now to request the indulgence of the reader while I explain my motives and objects in rendering the sacred writings of the Sikhs into English, and how I was led to do so. Several years ago I attended the great Diwali fair at Amritsar, and it appeared to me to be worth describing in the *Calcutta Review*. In doing so, it became necessary for me to understand something of the Sikh religion. I accordingly read at the time several hymns of the Sikh Gurus. Having once begun them, I was tempted by the sublimity of their style and the high standard of ethics which they inculcated to continue. I accordingly devoted my spare time for several years to their study, and I generally kept a gyani or professional interpreter of the Granth Sahib in my employ. At an early period of my studies I made the acquaintance of the only book which professes to be a translation of the Sikh sacred volume. I refer to the so-called translation by Dr. Trumpp, a German ex-missionary, who was employed at great expense by the India Office to translate the sacred book of the Sikhs into English. I found that his work, large as it is, only contained a translation of four out of the thirty-one rāgs which compose the Ad Granth. I soon further found that he, being a foreigner, was unable to write English correctly, that his translation was generally unidiomatic, and in many cases unintelligible even to an Englishman.* Furthermore, he disregarded the traditional interpretations of the Gyanis, or professional interpreters of the Granth Sahib, and prided himself on substituting for them his own generally inaccurate versions. But what is still worse, he, being filled with theological zeal, made occasional remarks on the Sikh doctrines and even on the Sikh gurus which would, I think, not have occurred to a less enthusiastic writer.

* I have given some specimens of Dr. Trumpp's translation in the foot-notes to my article in the July number of this Review.

In an address presented by the Sikhs to the Governor-General on the 16th of November, 1888, occurs the following passage :—"The translation made by Dr. Trumpp, who was employed by the India Office for the purpose, is bristling with sentences altogether wide of the meaning, so much so that one regrets the useless labour and the large amount of money spent in vain."

In a letter addressed to myself by the Singh Sabha of Ferozepore on the 3rd of May, 1893, it was stated :—"The translation by Dr. Trumpp is not reliable, and we regret to see that Government's spending many thousands on it produced no satisfactory result."

In the preface to an English translation of the Japji made in November, 1893, by a learned descendant of the third Guru, he writes :—"Dr. Trumpp's version is painfully literal, obscure, and unintelligible. Rather than draw out the meaning of the text, he appears to mystify it as much as possible."

The total result appears to be that Dr. Trumpp's translation is rather detrimental than advantageous to the religion of the Sikhs. The Khalsa Diwan knowing this, and also knowing that I had been studying the sacred books of the Sikhs for a long time, sent me, before my return to duty from my last furlough, two written requests to complete my translation of their sacred writings, and I was promised compensation for retirement from the public service and for the expenses attending my researches and the publication of my work. I accordingly resigned my post as Divisional Judge in the Panjab for the purpose, and for the last four years I have worked almost unremittingly at the task the Sikhs assigned me.

I myself also thought that a translation of the sacred writings of the Sikhs was necessary in all interests. I had often been asked even by intelligent persons in Europe, America, Australia, and even India itself, what the Sikh religion was, and whether the Sikhs were Hindus, idolaters, or Muhammadans; and I thought it was not good even for the Sikhs themselves that this ignorance regarding their religion should be allowed to continue. The British Government and all persons of discrimination set a high value on the Sikhs, but I thought that a knowledge throughout the world of the excellence of their religion would enhance even the present regard with which they are entertained, and that thus my translation would be at least of political advantage to them. In the second place, there is now a large number of Sikhs who understand the English language, but who have not time for the study of the compositions of their Gurus, and I thought it would be useful to them both from a spiritual and linguistic point of view to read a translation in the very simple English in which I have endeavoured to write it. In the third place, the old gyanis are dying out, and there are few to take their place, and, probably in another generation or two, their sacred books will, owing to their enormous difficulty, be practically unintelligible even to otherwise educated Sikhs. Since I myself began my Sikh studies, several of the great gyanis whom I have known and who have assisted me have died, and I do not know who will take the place of the few who now remain. In the fourth place, the vernacular itself is rapidly altering and diverging more and more from the general language of

the Granth Sahib. Words which men still in the prime of life were accustomed to use in their boyhood have now become obsolete, and new vocables have taken their place. It appeared therefore to me that it would on every account be well for the Sikhs to avail themselves of the present opportunity, and endeavour to fix for all time the translation of the many exceedingly difficult passages scattered broadcast through their sacred writings. In the fifth place, when a translation is once made and approved of in English, it can be easily rendered into Panjabi or Hindustani. There is at present no trustworthy translation of the sacred books of the Sikhs in either of these languages. Consequently, the great mass of the Sikhs, to whom the Granth Sahib is almost totally unintelligible, are becoming quite ignorant of their originally pure religion, and rapidly reverting to superstition sometimes of the grossest character. In the sixth place, in my translation and in the lives of the Gurus which I propose to write, I hope to refute several statements made by European writers disparaging to the Gurus.* In the seventh place, there can be no doubt in the mind of any one acquainted with the sacred writings of the Sikhs, that, were the Gurus and Bhagats or saints who composed them now alive, they would be pleased to see their compositions translated into a language like the English, spoken by a great and enterprising people throughout the continents and islands which extend far and wide over the earth.

Guru Gobind Singh says :

Jo Prabh jagat kaha so kah hon,
Mrit log te mon na gahi hon.
Kahyo Prabhu so bhakh hon ;
Kisu na kan rakh hon.†

These are some of the advantages which I have been anticipating for the Sikhs themselves from my translation, but of course there are other advantages of a more general character. My translation will practically introduce a new religion to the world which may derive advantage from the high ethical principles of the Sikh Gurus—those great men who must be admitted even by the most bigoted members of other religions to be true seekers after God. In the second place, my translation will be useful to the historian as throwing considerable light on the state of Indian society in the Middle Ages. Thirdly, the Granth Sahib, containing as it does words from all languages indigenous to or introduced into India up to the time of the tenth Guru—Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Turki, Marathi, and even Gujrati—is an unequalled mine of philology. I have been struck with the considerable number of words I have found in a Gurmukhi dress, from which common words in English and other European languages appear to have been derived. Fourthly, it is admitted that a knowledge of the religions of the people of India is a desideratum for the British officials who administer its affairs, and indirectly for the people who

* Several of these disparaging statements are due to Captain Troyer's inaccurate translation of the *Dabistan-i-muzahib*. Dr. Trumpp has reproduced a painfully incorrect and defamatory account of Guru Har Gobind.

† What God told me I tell the world. I shall not be silent before mortals. As God spoke, so I proclaim. I pay no regard to anyone besides.

are governed by them; and it is no doubt with that object the India Office employed Dr. Trumpp to make a translation of the Ad. Granth.

I am aware that in the opinion of several Sikhs a translation of the Granth Sahib is impossible. One Sikh nobleman in a very high position has stated to me that only the men who wrote the compositions contained therein could understand them. I do not think this view is correct. If the Sikh Gurus and the Bhagats who preceded them did not intend their compositions to be understood, it would be unmeaning to have written or uttered them at all. Indeed there are several passages in the sacred writings of the Sikhs, which inculcate the teaching of truth to every one regardless of caste or creed. At the same time there is no doubt that, even speaking as guardedly as possible, the Granth Sahib is perhaps the most difficult book in the world. Apart from the numerous languages and dialects therein represented, it has no grammar, and until recently it has had no dictionary, and even now it has none that is of any very practical use.* The Granth Sahib abounds with verses which will bear various different interpretations, and no doubt it would be very comforting to the reader if the Gurus were alive to refer to for explanation, but I believe the general meaning of the sacred volume can be adequately rendered into English by great labour, study, and inquiry.

Such I have endeavoured to bestow on it. For years I have studied in India with gyanis of reputation, and spared neither time, nor health, nor money. I have had as gyanis Sirdar Kahn Singh of Nabha—a young Sikh gentleman of great learning and promise—Bhais Nihal Singh and Sant Singh of Sialkot; Bhais Dit Singh, Gurumukh Singh, Rajindar Singh (editor of the *Khalsa Bahadur*) and Nihal Singh of Lahore; Bhais Sardul Singh Gyani (son of Gyan Singh Gyani), Prem Singh, Fatah Singh, and Darbara Singh of Amritsar; Bhai Sant Singh of Kapurthala, Bhai Bhagwan Singh of Patiala, and Bhai Dasaundha Singh of Firozpur.

I could have wished the translation into English was made by a Sikh, but—and it may be as well to put the matter clearly to prevent error and disappointment—there is not as yet, so far as I am aware, any Sikh sufficiently acquainted with English to make an idiomatic translation into it; and another translation such as Dr. Trumpp's would only cast further ridicule on the Sikh religion. The work therefore, if done at all, must be done by an Englishman.† In a few generations there will no doubt be Sikhs who can write literary English, but it is hardly likely that such will be well acquainted with the Granth Sahib, seeing that there are now hardly any Sikhs who have made an advanced study of English, and at the same time acquired a complete knowledge of their own sacred writings.

To anticipate any objection to myself as a translator of the Sikh sacred writings I wrote as follows in February 1892 to the Panjab Government: "My own views on religious matters being absolutely unsectarian, I would

* There is at present an opportunity open to a Sikh scholar to produce a thoroughly good dictionary of the Granth Sahib. The elaborate work of the late Pandit Tara Singh of Patiala might be taken as a basis.

† Under this term I include such eminent foreign scholars as the Honourable Professor Max Müller and Dr. Leitner, who have permanently settled in England, and who can write English like Englishmen.

aim at producing a book acceptable to the Sikhs themselves. I hold no brief from any religious denomination, and would describe the Sikh religion as it is without the introduction of any opinions or comments of my own." In furtherance of this promise made to the Government, I have been very careful to adopt the traditional translations given me by the best gyanis, and I have also whenever practicable engaged English-speaking Sikhs to read my translations, and invited them to offer me their comments and corrections.

Whatever may be thought of my work, I do not think that any European will ever again undertake a translation of the sacred books of the Sikhs. The difficulties and expense attending the work are enormous. No official while in Government service could ever spare time to accomplish it; and it is not every official who would care to spend many years in India after retirement for the purpose. Were the sacred writings of the Sikhs written in a homogeneous language with a systematic grammar and vocabulary, no doubt there would have been already several translations of them by the savants of Europe, but the sacred books of the Sikhs have not been and cannot be so translated. It is necessary for a translator to reside in India, and place himself at the feet of the best gyanis, who are totally unacquainted with the English language. Few of them indeed even speak Hindustani, but give their interpretations in long paraphrases in Panjabi dialects, and most of them have a decided objection to impart a knowledge of their sacred books to Europeans. This, however, is only a part of the difficulty, for, wherever I have gone, the gyanis have always given me different translations; and one of my most trying functions as a translator has been to decide between rival and contradictory versions. Had I known earlier the difficulties I should have to encounter, I should certainly never have undertaken a translation of this description.

Last winter I lived at Amritsar in India, the headquarters of the Sikh religion; and on giving the above explanation to the Sikhs, and expressing a wish to them that they should appoint a committee of priests thoroughly conversant with their Scriptures to examine my translation, and judge of its correctness and conformity to the tenets of the Sikh religion, I was invited by the custodians of the Darbar Sahib or Golden Temple, the famous Sikh fane at Amritsar, to address from the Takht Akal Bungah, or Sikh Holy of Holies, a large anniversary meeting on the subject of my translation. I may state that I am the only European who has ever been similarly honored. After my address it was proposed by Colonel Jawala Singh, superintendent of the Golden Temple, and seconded by Bhai Basant Singh, editor of the *Khalsa Gazette*, Lahore, that a committee of learned Sikhs be appointed to examine and revise my translation, and that the Sikh chiefs be invited to co-operate. This proposal was carried unanimously. Bhai Basant Singh, as representing the rising Sikh literati, made a powerful speech on my behalf, which would look too much like self-praise for me to reproduce.

The committee for the examination of my translation was formed and after the examination Bhai Sardul Singh (son of Gyan Singh Gyani) the great priest of the Golden Temple, Bhai Sant Singh, a very learned Sikh

priest of Kapurthalla and Bhai Prem Singh of Amritsar gave me the following certificate under their signature :

"We, through the agency of learned Sikhs acquainted with English have carefully perused the translation of the hymns of the Granth Sahib by Mr. Macauliffe. The perusal cost us a month and a half of continuous labour. Wherever any of us found what seemed to be an error we all met, discussed the passage, and either corrected it or allowed Mr. Macauliffe's translation to stand. Wherefore we now state that Mr. Macauliffe's translation has been fully revised by us, and is thoroughly correct. The greatest care has been taken in making the translation conformable to the religious tenets of the Sikhs. The translation is quite literal and done according to all grammatical and rhetorical rules.

"We now request the Rajahs, Maharajahs, Sirdars, the learned and accomplished of the Sikh faith to specially read or listen to this translation, if only for once. They will thus become acquainted with Mr. Macauliffe's labours, and reap the advantage of the true instruction of their gurus. They should also render all necessary aid to the translator because he has resigned a high post under Government and has spent untold wealth on this undertaking."

While the committee was sitting, the sacred volume of the Sikhs was read three times continuously night and day by relays of Sikh priests for the success of my work ; and a special religious service, according to the rites of the Sikh faith, was held for me personally at the conclusion of the third reading. This too has never before been done for any European. I think I may say that all the Sikhs who are capable of reading my translation, have shown the utmost enthusiasm regarding it. I hold numerous letters from Sikhs of all classes blessing me and thanking me for my labours in bringing their religion to general notice, and in explaining its obscurities to themselves in what I hope is intelligible language.

It apparently only now remains for the Indian Government to signify its approval of my labours—and I am in hope that such approval will be eventually accorded—in order that the Sikhs may be induced to adhere to their promises to me, and that my work may be published. Such is the power of the Indian Government that without its sanction or recommendation even independent chiefs with plenary powers of administration feel it unsafe to undertake anything however praiseworthy in itself ; and of this I hold tangible proof in my possession.

All elaborate translations of this description have been made by combination and concerted action. The Old Testament is believed to have been translated from Hebrew into Greek by seventy scholars. The New Testament was translated into English in the time of James I. by a committee of English divines. That translation was revised some years since in a similar way. A committee of missionaries sat for a protracted period in India not long since to revise the Urdu translation of the Bible ; and even translations which are not exactly of a religious character have been largely subsidised by the Government and the native nobility. In a review of the late Babu Protap Chandra Roy's translation of the Mahabharat, it was

stated in the *Civil and Military Gazette*: "Mrs. Roy acknowledges in her postscript that the contributions received by her husband from the Secretary of the State, the Government of India, and the various Local Governments, amounted in all to the good round sum of Rs. 45,000. Mrs. Roy acknowledges that her husband received liberal subsidies from almost all the Indian Princes and noblemen; and we may reasonably conclude that their munificence was in no small degree stimulated by official influence."

Dr. Griffiths, who translated the great Sanskrit Epic, the Ramayana, into English verse during the incumbency of Sir William Muir, Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces of India, thus writes in the conclusion of his preface: "I beg to offer my sincere thanks to the Governments of Bengal, the Panjab, Bombay, Mysore, the Central Provinces, and Oudh, for the liberal aid which, at the recommendation of the several Directors of Public Instruction, they have given to my undertaking; and more especially am I bound to render my best thanks to the very distinguished Oriental scholar at the head of the Government of the North-Western Provinces." Several parallel cases might be cited.

MR. R. C. DUTT'S TRANSLATION OF THE MAHÂ-BHÂRATA.

"THE ILIAD OF ANCIENT INDIA."

IT is with great pleasure that we find ourselves already able to announce the early publication, as one of the "Temple Classics," of Mr. Dutt's translation of the Mahâ-Bhârata. The work, which is intended to interest not only Oriental scholars, but every cultivated Englishman, will be well printed, illustrated, elegant, and cheap. In his lucid and exhaustive preface, our author points out the almost insuperable difficulties in the way of placing the Iliad of ancient India before the British public. Not only is the subject-matter of India's epics similar to that of the Iliad and the Odyssey, but there is the same kind of controversy as to their date and authorship.

None can say with certainty when the immigration of the Âryas into India took place; it may have been 3,000 or even 4,000 years before our era, and was most likely along the course of the river Kabul. At all events, we can distinguish three periods of Âryan settlement and culture in Hindûstân, corresponding to the three great divisions of the peninsula, namely, the valley of the Indus, the plain of the Ganges, and the Dekhan. In literature these periods are respectively represented by the hymns of the Vêda and the two colossal epics. Though, as Prof. Deussen truly says, there is no clear historic consciousness of this progress, we are nevertheless justified in assuming that, of the two great national epics, the Mahâ-Bhârata is a reminiscence of the peregrinations and struggles of the Âryans amongst themselves consequent on the acquisition of the valley of the Ganges, whilst the Râmâyana is a symbolic individualization of Brahmanic culture pressing forward through the Dekhan to the South and even to Ceylon.

"The great war which is the subject of the Epic," says our author, "is believed to have been fought in the thirteenth or fourteenth century before Christ. For generations and centuries after the war, its main episodes must have been sung by bards and minstrels in the Courts of Northern India. The war thus became the centre of a cycle of legends, songs, and poems in ancient India, even as Charlemagne and Arthur became the centres of legends in mediæval Europe. And then probably under the direction of some enlightened King, the vast mass of legends and poetry, accumulated during centuries, were cast in a narrative form, and formed the epic of the Great Bhârata nation, and therefore called the Mahâ-Bhârata.

"We should have been thankful if this Epic, as it was originally put together some centuries before the Christian era, had been preserved to us. But this was not to be. The Epic became so popular that it went on growing with the growth of centuries. Every generation of poets had something to add; every distant nation in Northern India was anxious to interpolate some account of its deeds in the old record of the international

war; every preacher of a new creed desired to have in the old Epic some sanction for the truths he inculcated. . . . The modern reader will now understand the reason why this great Epic, the greatest work of imagination that Asia has produced, has never yet been placed before the European reader in a readable form. A poem of 90,000 couplets, about seven times the size of the Iliad and the Odyssey put together, is more than the average reader can stand; and the heterogeneous nature of its contents does not add to the interest of the work. If the religious works of Hooker and Jeremy Taylor, the philosophy of Hobbes and Locke, the Commentaries of Blackstone and the ballads of Percy, together with the tractarian writings of Newman, Keble, and Pusey, were all thrown into blank verse and incorporated with the *Paradise Lost*, the reader would scarcely be much to blame if he failed to appreciate that delectable compound. A complete translation of the Mahâ-Bhârata therefore into English verse is neither possible nor desirable."

Under the circumstances what was Mr. Dutt to do? Upon mature reflection it seemed to him, that the main incidents of the epic would bear a full and unabridged translation into English verse, and that these translations, "linked together by short connecting notes, would virtually present the entire story of the epic to the modern reader, in a form and within limits which might be acceptable."

In dealing with this immense mass of oral tradition, we cannot but think that the learned translator has done wisely, for in this way we hear the voice not of the translator, but of the poet himself. It is, in fact, a metrical translation of nearly all the important passages of the Iliad of the East. The real difficulty is to preserve in English the musical movement of the sonorous Sanskrit. Perhaps the best representative of the original *śloka* is the fifteen-syllable trochaic metre of *Locksley Hall*. At all events, this is the metre which our author has chosen, and the result, on the whole, is most satisfactory. As characteristic alike of matter and style, we may cite the following speeches and replies:

BOOK VII.—UDYOGA.

(The Preparation.)

The term of banishment having expired, Yudhisthir demanded that the kingdom of Indra-prastha should be restored to him. The old Dhritâ-rashtra and his queen and the aged and virtuous councillors advised the restoration, but the jealous Duryodhan hated his cousins with a genuine hatred, and would not consent. All negotiations were therefore futile, and preparations were made on both sides for the most sanguinary and disastrous battle that had ever been witnessed in Northern India.

The portions translated in this book are from Sections I., II., III., XCIV., CXXIV., and CXXVI. of Book V. of the original text.

I. KRISHNA'S SPEECH.

Mirth and song and nuptial music waked the echoes of the night,
Youthful bosoms throbbed with pleasure, love-lit glances sparkled bright:

But when young and white-robed USHAS oped the golden gates of day,
To Virata's Council Chamber chieftains thoughtful held their way.

Stones inlaid in arch and pillar glinted in the glittering dawn,
Gay festoons and graceful garlands o'er the golden cushions shone!

Matsya's King, Panchala's monarch, foremost seats of honour claim,
Krishna too and Valadeva, Dwarka's chiefs of righteous fame.

By them sat the bold Satyaki hailing from the Western shore,
And the god-like sons of Pandu,—days of dark concealment o'er !

Youthful princes in their splendour graced Virata's royal hall,
Valiant sons of valiant fathers, brave in war and fair and tall !

In their gem-bespangled garments came the warriors proud and high,
Till the Council Chamber glittered like the star-bespangled sky.

Kind the greetings ! sweet the converse ! soft the winged moments fly,
Till intent on graver questions all on Krishna turn their eye.

Krishna with his inner vision then the state of things surveyed,
And his thoughts before the monarchs thus in weighty accents laid :

"Known to all, ye mighty monarchs ! May your glory ever last !
True to plighted word Yudhishtir hath his weary exile passed.

"Twelve long years in pathless jungle with his wife and brothers strayed,
And a year in menial service in Virata's palace stayed.

"He hath kept his plighted promise through the years of woe and shame,
And he begs, assembled monarchs ! ye shall now his duty name !

"For he swerveth not from duty kingdom of the sky to win,
Prizeth hamlet more than empire, so his course be free from sin !

"Loss of realm and wealth and glory higher virtues in him prove
Thoughts of peace and not of anger, still the good Yudhishtir move !

"Mark again the sleepless anger and the unrelenting hate,
Harboured by the proud Duryodhan driven by his luckless fate !

"From a child, by fire or poison impious, guile and trick of dice,
He hath compassed dark destruction, by deceit and low device !

"Ponder well, ye gracious monarchs ! with a just and righteous mind,
Help Yudhishtir with your counsel, with your grace and blessings kind.

"Should the noble son of Pandu seek his right by open war,
Seek the aid of righteous monarchs and of chieftains near and far ?

"Should he smite his ancient foemen skilled in all deceitful art,
Unforgiving is their vengeance, unrelenting is their heart ?

"Should he rather send a message to the proud unbending foe,
And Duryodhan's haughty purpose seek by messenger to know ?

"Should he send a noble envoy, trained in virtue, true and wise,
And his greetings to Duryodhan in a meek and friendly guise ?

"Ask him to restore the kingdom on the sacred Jumna's shore ?
Each may rule in peace his empire as in happy days of yore !"

Krishna spake these words of wisdom pregnant with his peaceful thought,
For in peace and not by bloodshed, good Yudhishtir's right he sought.

II. VALADEVA'S SPEECH.

Krishna's older Valadeva, stalwart chief who bore the plough,
Rose and spake, the blood of Vrishnis mantled o'er his lofty brow :

"Ye have listened, righteous monarchs ! to my brother's thoughtful word !
Love he bears to good Yudhishtir and to proud Hastina's lord !

"For his realm by dark blue Jumna good Yudhishtir held of yore,
Brave Duryodhan ruled his kingdom on fair Ganga's sacred shore !

"And once more in love and friendship either prince may rule his share,
For the lands are broad and fertile, and each realm is rich and fair.

"Speed the envoy to Hastina with our love and greetings kind,
Let him speak Yudhishtir's wishes, know the prince Duryodhan's mind.

" Make obeisance unto Bhishma and to Drona true and bold,
Unto Kripa, archer Karna, unto chieftains young and old.
" To the sons of Dhritâ-rashtra, rulers of the Kuru land,
Righteous in their kingly duties, stout of heart and strong of hand,
" To these princes and to burghers gathered in the council hall,
Let him speak Yudhishtir's wishes, plead his righteous cause to all.
" Speak he not in futile anger, for Duryodhan holds the power
And Yudhishtir's wrath were folly, in this sad and luckless hour !
" By his dearest friends dissuaded, but by rage or madness driven,
Played and lost his realm Yudhishtir—may his folly be forgiven !
" Indra-prastha's spacious empire now Duryodhan thinks his own,
By his tears and soft entreaty let Yudhishtir seek the throne.
" Open war I do not counsel, humbly seek Duryodhan's grace,
War will not restore the empire, nor the gambler's loss replace !"
Thus with cold and cruel candour, stalwart Valadeva cried,
Wrathful rose the brave Satyaki, fiercely thus to him replied.

III. SATYAKI'S SPEECH.

" Shame unto the halting chieftain who thus pleads Duryodhan's part,
Timid counsel, Valadeva speaks a woman's timid heart !
" From a warlike stock ariseth, weakling chief who bends the knee,
As a withered branch and fruitless springeth from a fruitful tree !
" From a heart so faint and craven, faint and craven words must flow,
Monarchs in their pride and glory list not to such counsel low !
" How could'st thou, O Vrishni chieftain ! midst these monarchs known to fame,
On Yudhishtir pious-hearted cast this undeserved blame ?
" Challenged by his wily foemen, and by dark misfortune cross'd,
Trusting to their faith Yudhishtir played a righteous game and lost.
" Challenge from a crown'd monarch can a crown'd king decline ?
Can a Kshatra warrior fathom fraud in sons of royal line ?
" Nathless he surrendered empire true to faith and plighted word,
Lived for years in pathless forests, Indra-prastha's mighty lord !
" Past his years of weary exile, now demands his realm of old,
Claims it, not as humble suppliant, but as king and warrior bold !
" Past his year of dark concealment, bold Yudhishtir claims his own,
Proud Duryodhan now must render Indra-prastha's jewell'd throne !
" Bhishma counsels, Drona urges, Kripa pleads his cause in vain,
Yields not false and fierce Duryodhan sinful conquest, fraudulent gain !
" Open war I therefore counsel, ruthless and relentless war,
Grace we seek not when we meet them speeding in our battle car !
" And our weapons, not entreaties, shall our foemen force to yield,
Yield Yudhishtir's rightful kingdom or they perish on the field.
" Proud Duryodhan and his forces fall beneath our battles' shock,
As beneath the bolt of thunder falls the crushed and riven rock !
" Who shall meet the helm'd Arjun in the gory field of war,
Krishna with his fiery discus mounted on his battle car ?
" Who shall face the twin-born brothers by the mighty Bhima led,
And the vengeful chief Satyaki with his bow and arrows dread ?
" Ancient Drupad wields his weapon peerless in the fields of fight,
And his son brave Dhrista-dyumna owns a strange, unconquered might.
" Abhimanyu, son of Arjun, whom the fair Subhadra bore,
And whose happy nuptials brought us from far Dwarka's sea-girt shore.

"Men on earth nor bright immortals can the youthful hero face,
When with more than Arjun's prowess leads the prince the battle's race !
"Dhrita-rashtra's sons we conquer, and Gandhara's wily son,
Vanquish Karna though world-honoured for his deeds of valour done.
"Win the fierce-contested battle, and redeem Yudhishtir's own,
Place the exile pious-hearted on his father's ancient throne !
"And no sin Satyaki reckons slaughter of the mortal foe,
But to beg a grace of foemen were a mortal sin and woe !
"Speed we then unto our duty, let our impious foemen yield,
Or the fiery son of Sini meets them in the battle-field !"

IV. DRUPAD'S SPEECH.

Fair Panchala's ancient monarch rose his secret thoughts to tell,
From his lips the words of wisdom with a graceful accent fell :
"Much I fear thou speakest truly,—hard is Kuru's stubborn race,
Vain the hope the effort futile to beseech Duryodhan's grace !
"Dhrita-rashtra pleadeth vainly, feeble is his fitful star,
Ancient Bhishma, righteous Drona, may not stop this fatal war !
"Archer Karna thirsts for battle, moved by jealousy and pride,
Deep Sakuni, false and wily, still supports Duryodhan's side !
"Vain is Valadeva's counsel, vainly shall our envoy plead,
Half his empire proud Duryodhan yields not in his boundless greed ;
"In his pride he deems our mildness faint and feeble-hearted fear,
And our suit will fan his glory and his arrogance will cheer !
"Therefore let our many heralds travel near and travel far,
Seek alliance of all monarchs in the great impending war.
"Unto great and noble chieftains, unto nations east and west,
North and south to warlike races speed our message and request.
"Meanwhile peace and offered friendship we before Duryodhan place,
And my priest will seek Hastina, strive to win Duryodhan's grace.
"If he renders Indra-prastha, peace will crown the happy land,
Or our troops will shake the empire, from the east to western strand !"
Vainly were Panchala's Brahmins sent with messages of peace,
Vainly urged Hastina's elders that the fatal strife should cease.
Proud Duryodhan to his kinsmen would not yield their kingdom's share,
Pandu's sons would not surrender for they had the will to dare !
Fatal war and dire destruction do the mighty gods ordain,
Till the kings and armed nations strewed the wide and reeking plain !
Krishna in his righteous effort sought for wisdom from above,
Strove to stop the war of nations, and to end the feud in love.
And to far Hastina's palace Krishna went to sue for peace,
Raised his voice against the slaughter, begged that strife and feud should cease.

V. KRISHNA'S SPEECH AT HASTINA.

Silent sat the listening chieftains in Hastina's council hall,
With the voice of rolling thunder Krishna spake unto them all :
"Listen mighty Dhrita-rashtra, Kuru's great and ancient king,
Seek not war and death of kinsmen ! word of peace and love I bring !
"Midst the wide earth's many nations Bharats in their worth excel,
Love and kindness, spotless virtue in the Kuru-elders dwell,
"Father of that noble nation ! now retired from life's turmoil.
Ill beseems that sin or untruth should thy ancient bosom soil !

"For thy sons, through greed and passion, seek to do their kinsmen wrong,
And withhold the throne and kingdom which by right to them belong.

"And a danger thus ariseth like the comet's baleful fire,
Slaughtered kinsmen, bleeding nations, soon shall feed its fatal ire !

"Stretch thy hands O Kuru monarch ! prove thy truth and righteous grace,
Man of peace ! avert the slaughter, and preserve thy ancient race !

"Yet restrain thy fiery children, for thy mandates they obey,
I with sweet and soft persuasion, Pandu's truthful sons will sway.

"Tis thy profit, Kuru monarch ! that all hostile wars should cease,
Brave Duryodhan, good Yudhishtir, each should rule his realm in peace !

"Pandu's sons are strong in valour, mighty is their armed hand,
INDRA shall not shake thy empire when they guard the Kuru-land !

"Bhishma is thy kingdom's bulwark, doughty Drona rules the war,
Karna matchless with his arrows, Kripa peerless in his car !

"Let Yudhishtir and stout Bhima by these noble warriors stand,
And let helmet-wearing Arjun guard the sacred Kuru-land.

"Who shall then contest thy prowess from the sea to farthest sea,
Ruler of a world-wide empire, king of kings and nations free ?

"Sons and grandsons, friends and kinsmen will surround thee in a ring,
And a race of loving heroes guard their ancient hero-king !

"Dhrita-rashtra's lofty edicts will proclaim his boundless sway,
Nations work his righteous mandates and the kings his will obey !

"If this concord be rejected, and the lust of war prevail,
Soon within these ancient chambers will resound the sound of wail.

"Grant thy children be victorious and the sons of Pandu slain,
Dear to thee are Pandu's children, sure their death must cause thee pain !

"But the Pandavs, skilled in warfare, are renowned both near and far,
And thy race and children's slaughter will methinks pollute this war !

"Sons and grandsons, gracious princes, thou shalt never see again,
Kinsmen loved and car-borne chieftains will bedeck the gory plain.

"Ponder yet, O ancient monarch ! Rulers of each distant State,
Nations from the farthest regions gather thick to court their fate !

"Father of a righteous nation ! Save the princes of the land,
On the armed and fated nations stretch, old man ! thy saving hand !

"Say the word and at thy bidding leaders of each hostile race,
Not the gory field of battle but the festive board will grace !

"Robed in jewels, decked in garlands, they will quaff the ruddy wine,
Greet their foes in love and kindness, bless thy righteous name and thine !

"Think, O man, of many seasons ! when good Pandu left this throne,
And his helpless loving orphans thou didst nurse e'en as thine own !

"'Twas thy fond and steady fingers taught the boys their steps to frame,
'Twas thy loving gentle accents taught their lips to lisp each name !

"As thine own they grew and blossomed, dear to thee they yet remain,
Take them back unto thy bosom, be a father once again !

"Unto thee O ! Dhrita-rashtra Pandu's sons in homage bend,
And this loving peaceful message through a kinsman's lips they send :—

"Tell our monarch, more than father, at his dear and wise command
We have lived in wood and jungle and have roamed from land to land,

"True unto our plighted promise, for we ever felt and knew
To his troth king Dhrita-rashtra cannot, will not be untrue !

"Years of anxious toil are over and of woe and bitterness,
Years of waiting and of watching, years of danger and distress,

"Like a dark unending midnight hung on us this age forlorn.
 Streaks of hope and dawning brightness usher now the radiant morn !
 "Be unto us as a father, loving, and not filled with wrath,
 Be unto us as preceptor, pointing us the righteous path,
 "If perchance astray we wander, thy strong arm shall lead aright,
 If our feeble bosom fainteth, help us with a father's might !
 "Show the path of loving duty, and that path we humbly tread.
 These are words the sons of Pandu through me unto thee have said.
 "Take their love, O gracious monarch ! Let thy closing days be fair,
 Let Duryodhan keep his kingdom, let the Pandavs have their share.
 "Call to mind their noble suffering, for the tale is dark and long,
 Of the outrage they have suffered, of the insult and the wrong !
 "Exiled unto Varna-vata, destined unto death by flame,—
 For the gods assist the righteous,—how with added strength they came !
 "Exiled unto Indra-prastha, by their toil and by their might,
 Cleared a forest, built a city, and performed a noble rite !
 "Cheated of their realm and empire and of all they called their own,
 With Drupadi they have wandered, homeless, friendless, poor, unknown !
 "Once more quelling all misfortunes, they are stout of heart and hand ;—
 Now redeem thy plighted promise, and restore their throne and land !
 "Trust me, mighty Dhṛita-rashtra, trust me, lords who grace this hall,
 Krishna pleads for peace and virtue, blessings unto you and all !
 "Slaughter not the armed nations, slaughter not thy kith and kin,
 Mark not, king, thy closing summers with the bloody stain of sin !
 "Pandū's sons with thy own children, let them guard thy ancient throne,
 Cherish peace and cherish virtue, for the days are almost done !"

VI. BHISHMA'S SPEECH.

From the monarch's ancient bosom sighs and sobs convulsive broke,
 Bhishma wiped his manly eyelids, and to proud Duryodhan spoke :
 "Listen prince ! for righteous Krishna counsels love and holy peace,
 Listen youth ! and may thy fortune with thy passing years increase !
 "Yield to Krishna's words of wisdom, for thy weal he nobly strives,
 Yield and save thy friends and kinsmen, save thy cherished subjects' lives !
 "Foremost race in all this wide earth is Hastina's royal line,
 Bring not on this race destruction, by a sinful act of thine !
 "Sons and fathers, friends and brothers, shall in mutual conflict die,
 Kinsmen slain by dearest kinsmen shall upon the red field lie !
 "Hearken unto Krishna's counsel, unto wise Vidura's word,
 Be thy mother's fond entreaty and thy father's mandate heard !
 "Tempt not heavenly wrath and vengeance on thy proud and ancient race,
 Tread not in the path of darkness, seek the path of light and grace !
 "Listen to thy King and father, he hath Kuru's empire graced !
 Listen to thy Queen and mother, she has nursed thee on her breast !"

VII. DRONA'S SPEECH.

Outspake Drona, priest and warrior, and his words were few and high,
 Clouded was Duryodhan's forehead, wrathful was Duryodhan's eye.
 "Thou hast heard the holy counsel, which the righteous Krishna said,
 Ancient Bhishma's voice of warning thou hast in thy bosom weighed.
 "Peerless in their ancient wisdom are these chiefs in peace or strife,
 Truest friends to thee, Duryodhan, pure and sinless in their life.

"Take their counsel and thy kinsmen fasten in a lasting peace,
May the empire of the Kurus and their warlike fame increase.
"List unto thy old preceptor ! Faithless is thy fitful star,
False they feed with hopes thy bosom, those who urge and counsel war.
"Crowned kings and armed nations, they will strive for thee in vain,
Vainly brothers, sons and kinsmen will for thee their life-blood drain ;
"For the victor's crown and glory never, never can be thine,
Krishna conquers and brave Arjun ! mark these deathless words of mine !
"I have trained the youthful Arjun, seen him bend the warlike bow,
Marked him charge the hostile forces, marked him smite the scattered foe !
"Fiery son of Jamadagni owned no greater, loftier might,
Breathes on earth no mortal warrior conquers Arjun in the fight !
"Krishna too in war resistless, comes from Dwarka's distant shore,
And the bright-gods quake before him, whom the fair Devaki bore !
"These are foes thou may'st not conquer, take an ancient warrior's word,
Act thou as thy heart decideth, thou art Kuru's king and lord !"

VIII. VIDURA'S SPEECH.

Then in gentler voice Vidura sought his pensive mind to tell,
From his lips serene and softly words of woe and anguish fell :—
"Not for thee I grieve, Duryodhan, slain by vengeance fierce and keen,
For thy father weeps my bosom and the aged Kuru queen !
"Sons and grandsons, friends and kinsmen slaughtered in this fatal war,
Homeless, cheerless, on this wide earth they shall wander long and far !
"Friendless, kinless, in this wide world whither shall they turn and fly !
Like some bird bereft of plumage they shall pine awhile and die !
"Of their race the sad survivors, they shall wander o'er the earth,
Curse the fatal day, Duryodhan saw thy sad and woeful birth !"

IX. DHIRITA-RASHTRA'S SPEECH.

Tear-drops filled his sightless eyeballs, anguish shook his aged frame,
As the monarch soothed Duryodhan by each fond endearing name !
"Listen, dearest son, Duryodhan, shun this dark and fatal strife,
Cast not grief and death's black shadow on thy parents' closing life !
"Krishna's life is pure and spotless, true and wise the words he said,
We may win a world-wide empire with the noble Krishna's aid.
"Seek the friendship of Yudhishtir, loved of righteous gods above,
And unite the scattered Kurus by the lasting tie of love !
"Now at full is tide of fortune, never may it come again,
Strive and win ! Or ever after all repentance will be vain !
"Peace is righteous Krishna's counsel, and he offers love of peace,
Take the offered boon, Duryodhan ! Let all strife and hatred cease !"

X. DURYODHAN'S SPEECH.

Silent sat the proud Duryodhan wrathful in the council hall,
Spake to mighty armed Krishna, and to Kuru warriors all :
"Ill becomes thee, Dwarka's chieftain ! in the paths of sin to rove,
Bear for me a secret hatred, for the Pandavs, secret love !
"And my father, wise Vidura, Bhishma, Drona, warrior-bold,
Join thee in this bitter hatred, turn on me their glances cold !
"What great crime or darkening sorrow shadows o'er my bitter fate,
That ye chiefs and Kuru's monarch mark Duryodhan for your hate ?
"Speak, what nameless guilt or folly, secret sin to me unknown,
Turns from me your sweet affection, father's love, that was my own ?

"If Yudhishtir, fond of gambling, played a heedless reckless game,
Lost his empire and his freedom, was it then Duryodhan's blame ?

"And if freed from shame and bondage in his folly played again,
Lost again and went to exile, wherefore doth he now complain ?

"Weak are they in friends and forces, feeble is their fitful star,
Wherefore then in pride and folly seek with us this unjust war ?

"Shall we, who to mighty INDRA scarce will do the homage due,
Bow to homeless sons of Pandu and their comrades faint and few ?

"Bow to them while warlike Drona leads us as in days of old,
Bhisma greater than the bright-gods, archer Karna true and bold ?

"If in dubious game of battle we should forfeit fame and life,
Heaven doth ope its golden portals for all Kshatras slain in strife !

"If unbending to our foemen we should press the gory plain,
Stingless is the bed of arrows, death for us will have no pain.

"For the Kshatra knows no terror of his foemen in the field,
Breaks like hardened forest timber, bends not, knows not how to yield !

"So the ancient sage Matanga of the warlike Kshatras said,
Save to priest and sage preceptor unto none they bend their head !

"Indra-prastha once my father weakly to Yudhishtir gave,
Nevermore shall go unto him while I live and brothers brave.

"Kuru's undivided kingdom Dhrita-rashtra rules alone,
Let us sheathe our swords in friendship and the monarch's empire own !

"If in past, in thoughtless folly, once the realm was broke in twain,
Kuru-land is reunited, never shall be split again !

"Take my message to my kinsmen, for Duryodhan's words are plain,
Portion of the Kuru empire sons of Pandu seek in vain.

"Town nor village, mart nor hamlet, help us righteous gods in heaven !
Spot that needle's point can cover shall not unto them be given !"

It has been the custom in India for centuries to read aloud and recite the Mahâ-Bhârata in temples and at feasts. From Bâna's Kâdambarî we learn how Queen Vilâsavatî went to a temple in Ujjayinî to hear the Mahâ-Bhârata, and with what joy the inhabitants listened to the thrilling story. An inscription of about 600 A.D. found in "Further India" tells us that even in the temples of Kambodia the epic was read. And even to-day in the cities and hamlets of Âryāvarta tears and smiles accompany the fortunes and sorrows of the hero. "The wife of Ramdeolal Dey," says Tabboys Wheeler, "had engaged a number of Brahmans to read the *Mahâ-Bhârata*, and for ninety days thousands of native women flocked to the house to hear the sacred story." Pratâpa Candra Râya informs us that "generally it takes about three months to complete the recitation of the entire *Mahâ-Bhârata*"; whilst according to a French scholar: *la légende des Pandaxas demande six mois, ni plus ni moins, aux contours indigènes.*

We cannot be too grateful to Mr. Dutt for presenting, in so skilful and readable a form, to English readers, a story which is "interwoven with the thoughts and beliefs and moral ideas of a nation numbering two hundred millions."

QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

HEBREW AND OLD TESTAMENT, CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS.

THE fourth volume of the new edition of "Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," edited by A. Hauck,* has recently appeared; in which there is an interesting article of Buhl's upon the art of poetry (Dichtkunst) among the Jews.

Among the publications relative to the Old Testament, we may point out in the "Journal Asiatique" (March-April 1898) a curious study by J. Halévy on symbolism in the history of Gideon, and on the use by certain prophets, of metaphorical expressions which describe bodily functions.

Also a very good poetical essay on the translation of Jeremiah by P. Fargues.† The author has beautifully expressed in French verse all the energy and at the same time the harmony of the Jewish prophet.

The ninth volume of the important publication published by Hilperecht under the title of "The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania" has just appeared. It includes some documents of the Persian era‡ whilst the preceding volumes carry us back to the most ancient times of Babylonia. We find in this volume a fact of extreme interest with regard to biblical studies, and the history of the religion of Israel. The words *Il* "god," and *Šamaš* "sun," when they form part of Semitic proper nouns (theopneustic nouns) are almost always written with the sign of the plural. It is well known that in Hebrew and in the Old Testament, the name of the divinity bears the plural termination.

ARABIC AND THE MUHAMMADAN COUNTRIES OF THE EAST.

In a recent work on "*les origines de la Compagnie de Jésus*,"§ the author, who has adopted the pseudonym of H. Muller, upholds an original but very doubtful theory which ought to interest Orientalists. According to this author, Ignatius de Loyola had taken from the Mussulman religious orders the principles and chief ideas which guided the formation of the Society of Jesuits. Indeed this is not the first time that such similarity has been observed between the organization and the discipline of the Jesuits and that of the Mussulman fraternities. It is one thing to see analogies between the development of two parallel religions, and another to affirm that the one is the outcome of the other. This latter pretension has led the author into real historical errors in that he sees in certain writings

* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1898.

† Jérémie, essai poétique, Le Mans, Hénot-Guénét et C^{ie}, 1898.

‡ Series A: Cuneiform Texts. Vol. IX. (business documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur, dated in the reign of Artaxerxes I.), by H. V. Hilperecht and Rev. A. T. Clay. Philadelphia, 1898.

§ Fischbacher, Paris, 1898.

of Ignatius only copies or imitations of fragments drawn from Muhammadan works and from the rules of Muhammadan brotherhoods as will be seen by the following quotations :

Mussalman texts.

Thou shalt be in the hands of thy sheikh as a corpse in the hands of a washer of the dead (*Livre des appuis*, by the Sheikh-es-Senussi).

The brothers shall have for their sheikh a passive obedience at all times ; they shall be in his hands like the corpse in the hands of the washer of the dead (Rule of the Chadelya).

Obey thy sheikh in everything he orders thee, because it is *God who commands through his voice*. To disobey him is to incur God's wrath. Do not forget that thou art his *slave* (Rules of Rahmania).

To attain to this perfect obedience it is necessary to discard from the mind all reasoning, both good and bad, for fear that a free scope given to meditation might lead to error. His heart must be linked to, and his mind filled with thoughts and the image of his sheikh, he ought to regard none but him, believe in no other and banish from his soul all that has not God or his sheikh for its object (Rules of Rahmania).

Texts of Loyola.

Those who live a life of obedience should allow themselves to be led and guided by their superior like a dead body which is turned and handled in any way (Const. de la Comp de Jesus, Part 6, chap. 1).

The way to submit one's mind is to think that *the command of the superior is the will of God*. It is necessary that he who depends from the other should be a *servant* (or slave) both tractable and obedient, in order that the virtues of him who commands may pass into and replenish him.

He who would, without reserve, sacrifice himself to God must tender Him besides his will his intellect also, which is the third and highest degree of obedience. This not only includes executing his orders but also exercising his judgment so that whatever the superior orders and believes in, shall appear lawful and right to the inferior, so that the power of will may influence his intellect (Letter from Loyola to the Portuguese Jesuits).

Let us convince ourselves that whatever the superior orders is just. By blind obedience let us reject all opposing sentiments. When it is a matter of obeying an order of a superior, whatever it may be, a blind inclination of the will to obey will carry us along heedless of reflection (Const., Part 6, chap. 1).

Of what value are these comparisons when we know, for example, that the Rahman order was founded in the year of the Hejira 1208 (A.D. 1793-94) and that of Senussi dates from A.H. 1250 (A.D. 1835) etc. ? How do these

documents affect the founder of the religious Catholic order who lived in the XVIth century? We should not have drawn our reader's attention to the errors in Mr. Muller's book if this work had not given rise in France at least to a lively interest, and had it not been the subject on the part of historians (not being Orientalists) of some very favourable comments. Such errors should not be propagated without being exposed.

We bring to the notice of our readers the French translation of the book by Slatin Pasha on "the Mahdi and Mahdism in the Sudan."* It is to be regretted that such an interesting work so full of documents and facts should be accompanied by such an inadequate map.

The third volume of "Bibliographie des ouvrages Arabes, ou relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne, de 1810 à 1885," by V. Chauvin† has appeared. It is dedicated to Lūqmān the fabulists, and to Barlaam, Antar the romancer of chivalry. This volume, like its predecessors, which we have analysed in our reports, is very conspicuous by its copiousness, preciseness of its bibliological information, its analyses of original texts, enumeration and study of translations from Arabic authors and the comparisons made with Western authors. The Barlaam and Antar articles we find particularly interesting.

We may also mention two more interesting Arabic works. The first is the "Histoire de la conquête de l'Abyssinie" (XVIth century), by Shihāb-ed-din Ahmed ben Abd-el-Gāder, surnamed Arab-Fagih, published by R. Basset, of which only two parts (the Arabic text and French translation) have yet appeared.‡ The second is the Commentary (in Arabic) of Maimonides on the Middoth treatise, with the Hebrew translation of Natanel Almoli; this critical edition is due to J. Fromer.§

* Fer et feu au Soudan, traduit de l'allemand par Bettex, 2 vols., illustrés, Le Caire. F. Diemer, 1898.

† Liege, Vaillant-Carmanne, 1898.

‡ Paris, Leroux, 1897.

§ Breslau, Th. Schatzky, 1898.

TWENTY-FIRST REVIEW ON THE
 "SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST" SERIES.
 CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XXI.—THE SADDHARMA-PUNDARĪKA. TRANSLATED
 BY H. KERN.

By JOHN BEAMES, B.C.S. (RET.).

"THE Lotus of the True Law" is not new to European scholars, a French translation of it having appeared more than half a century ago, by the celebrated Orientalist Eugène Burnouf. As one of the principal scriptures of the Mahāyāna, however, it merited a fresh translation, especially as more MSS. are now available than were accessible to Burnouf. The present translator, while making the fullest use of these, acknowledges gracefully his indebtedness to his illustrious French predecessor, from whose admirable version his own only differs in following more newly-discovered texts.

The Lotus is one of the earliest of the Mahāyāna writings. Its exact date cannot be definitely fixed, but the first century of our era would not apparently be too old a date for those parts of it which are original, namely chapters i-xx., and xxvii. The translator shows that there was a Chinese translation of twenty-eight chapters in existence as early as A.D. 265-316, and the whole of the present work with the additional matter existed in A.D. 250. Although now in Sanskrit, there is evidence to prove that it was originally composed in some very early form of Prakrit either an archaic Pali, or the strange corrupt Sanskrit Gāthā idiom, more probably the former. It is partly in prose, partly in verse, and the latter portions are apparently the older, the prose having been added (though it precedes the verse in each chapter) subsequently. Indeed, apart from the learned arguments adduced by the translator in support of this view, the text of the prose itself is alone sufficient to convince anyone acquainted with Buddhist writings, such for instance as the Vajracchedikā, of its comparative lateness. It has all the irritating faults of this class of work, the endless, wearisome repetitions, the long inflated periods, and the ridiculously exaggerated numbers of everything mentioned. In the first chapter for instance the Tathāgata is discovered seated at Rājagriha surrounded by his disciples. The author begins modestly with only twelve hundred monks, but soon warming with his work he adds two thousand other monks, six thousand nuns, eighty thousand Bodhisattvas—then sixteen virtuous men, eighty thousand more Bodhisattvas, Sakra the ruler of the celestials, with twenty thousand gods, the four rulers of the cardinal points with thirty thousand gods each, other leading gods each with a train of thirty thousand, and several odd lots of ten or twelve thousand gods; finally getting tired of this peddling work he launches into good round numbers and throws in "many hundred thousand myriads of crores" of Kinnaras, Gandharvas, demons, and Garudas!

No one throughout the work who has any self-respect deals with less than "many hundred thousand myriads of *Æons*" of existence, or the same number of converts, or anything else that has to be mentioned. Once even, feeling the inadequacy of such trifling numbers, the writer outstrips all bounds and places his hero "in the past, incalculable, more than incalculable, inconceivable, measureless *Æons* ago, nay at a period, an epoch far beyond that even."

The poetical portions on the contrary are simple, concise, and free from extravagances. They are, taken alone, somewhat abrupt as is the nature of *Sutras*, and would naturally require a commentary such as is supplied by the prose portion preceding each chapter.

Apart from the unreadableness caused by the intolerable style, the work is interesting in many ways even to the ordinary reader, though his patience will be sorely tried by having to pick out the really essential portions from the enormous mass of conventional padding in which they are imbedded.

The great innovation, so to speak, introduced by the *Maháyána* as here expounded begins with an idealization of the historic Buddha into a Supreme Being who has existed from eternity and will exist for ever. From time to time he appears on earth in different forms, and after running his course enters *Nirvána*—apparently only—for he is eternal, and the *Nirvána* which he seems to undergo is relative or with reference to the human beings of that particular period only. This view of his nature necessitates the conception of *Bodhisattvas* or beings who by a long course of study and preparation qualify themselves for being Buddhas. Their principal function is to preach and interpret the law. Their object is to save humanity, not as that of the followers of *Hínayána*, to save themselves. It is this humanitarian element in the *Maháyána* which appears also in the conception of *Avalokita* the pitying God to whom suffering humanity can pray and by whom it can be saved. Not only can everyone be saved if he will, but he can become a Buddha, and it is his duty to try to become one and save others in his turn.

"It (the '*Lotus*') admits that from a practical point of view one may distinguish three means, so-called vehicles (*yána*) to attain the summum bonum *Nirvána*, though in a higher sense there is only one Vehicle. These means are in plain language, piety, philosophy, or rather *Yogism*, and striving for the enlightenment and weal of our fellow-creatures; these means are designated by the terms of Vehicle of (obedient) hearers or disciples, of *Pratyekabuddhas*, and of *Bodhisattvas*. Higher than piety is true and self-acquired knowledge of the eternal laws; higher than knowledge is devoting one's self to the spiritual weal of others. The higher unity embracing the three separate Vehicles is the Buddha-vehicle" (Introduction, p. xxxiv).

This teaching is illustrated in Chapter III. by the parable of a man who seeing his house on fire, and his children playing unconcernedly inside it, induces them to come out by the promise of toys. Thus the *Tathágata* is the father who sees his children playing in the burning house of the world and entices them out of it by the three vehicles, the pleasures of meditation, emancipation and self-concentration with its results. These are but

toys, the reality which they represent is the safety of the children—Nirvāna. The parable is a striking one, though it loses much of its force by being told at enormous length with perpetual repetitions. Luke would have told it far more impressively in a dozen short verses.

Parables abound in the Lotus, many of them striking and even touching though spoilt in the telling by intolerable prolixity, and still more by the extravagant use of the marvellous element so common in the later works of northern Buddhism. That wild riot of the imagination which confounds time and space and imparts an air of unreality to the most serious teaching is already at work, as well as the belief in the efficacy of talismanic spells evidently derived from Hinduism, and hardly to be reconciled with the more sober parts of the system. Then there are displays of miraculous powers, the object of which is not clear; prophecies as to the future destinies of prominent disciples; and promises of rewards culminating in Nirvāna, when the faithful follower "after having revealed perfect enlightenment and led many scores of beings to perfect rest, himself will be extinguished like a lamp when the oil is exhausted." And this is all the comfort that the Tathāgata has to offer to a world laden with sin and misery—extinction!

VOL. XXXIII.—THE MINOR LAW-BOOKS. PART I. NĀRADA, BRIHASPATI. TRANSLATED BY JULIUS JOLLY.

Professor Jolly's labours in the field of ancient Indian law are well known, and translations by him of works like these which, though not of the first importance, have nevertheless a value of a peculiar kind, cannot fail to be welcome to scholars.

Though on the one hand not a mere recension of the more famous work of Manu, Nārada's Smṛiti is on the other hand a treatment of the same subjects so close in many respects to his predecessor's as almost to seem a reproduction. Professor Jolly, however, vindicates the claim of Nārada to originality. He says:

"Though acquainted with the code of Manu, the so-called Nārada was far from offering a mere slavish reproduction of its doctrines in his own work. On the contrary the Nārada Smṛiti must be considered as an independent and therefore specially valuable exposition of the whole system of civil and criminal law, as taught in the law schools of the period. It is in fact the only Smṛiti completely preserved in MS. in which law, properly so-called, is treated by itself without any reference to the rules of penance, diet, and other religious subjects, and it throws a new and an important light on the political and social institutions of ancient India at the time of its composition" (Introduction, p. xv). Then follow arguments to show that the date of the composition of the work is about the fifth, or at latest the sixth, century of our era, and thus contemporary with the great law books of Justinian. The translation is furnished throughout with footnotes consisting mainly of the ancient and valuable commentary of Asahāya. In the later chapters, Asahāya's commentary on which has been lost, other commentators have been resorted to.

The work itself begins with a short preface by the assumed author (for

its ascription to the ancient sage Nārada is of course a mere myth). Manu, it is said, composed a code in a hundred thousand slokas, but as this was too long for the use of mortals it was abridged into twelve thousand slokas by Nārada. By him it was handed down to Mārkanḍeya, who reflecting on the shortness of human life reduced it still further to eight thousand. From him again it came to Sumati, son of Bhrigu, in whose time human life having become still shorter the work was still further reduced to four thousand. None of these versions are now extant. The Manu that we have contains only two thousand six hundred and eighty-four slokas. Nārada's own work is then represented as being the ninth chapter of this primeval work. This is of course in accordance with the usual Oriental practice of ascribing a work to some great man of ancient times with a view to enhance its authority.

The Introduction deals with Legal Procedure, Plaint, Answer, and Judgment; and Courts of Justice. Here we come across the curious provision that the plaintiff may bet with the court on the success of his case by staking in writing a certain sum to be paid in case of defeat in addition to the sum in dispute. The defendant may do the same. This may perhaps explain the saying so common among the natives of India in the present day that a lawsuit is a game of chance (*judi khel*). Immemorial custom overrules everything, even the sacred law—and even now in India there is nothing more potent than *dastūr*. In the rather long list of persons exempt from summons or arrest are some curious cases, e.g., "one about to marry," "one accused by another," "one harassed by difficulties." No satisfactory explanation is given of these categories. If a verdict contrary to justice has been given the assessors of the court must pay that fine (*i.e.*, a fine on retrial), "because nobody certainly can act as a judge without incurring the risk of being punished eventually"; a remark the truth of which will be sorrowfully admitted by more than one member of the Indian Civil Service in these days of progress and enlightenment.

Then follow eighteen "titles of law," the first and most important of which is the law of debt in twenty-six sections. Among these are a number relating to evidence both documentary and oral. Specially elaborate are the provisions regarding witnesses, these gentry having been apparently as unreliable in the sixth century as in the nineteenth, though it is not at first sight apparent why among the numerous kinds of people who may not be examined as witnesses should be included "an oilman" or "one who has bad nails or black teeth" or "one who has a limb too little." The indications by which a false witness may be known might perhaps be valuable to modern Indian judges, though it might be hazardous to rely too much on them; nor is it likely that the long exhortation to tell the truth would have very much effect now-a-days if it ever had.

Failing evidence the case may be decided by the oath of the plaintiff—a favourite method of decision still in those parts of India where the state of the law permits it. Or in important cases the ordeal by fire, water and other tests may be resorted to. A long series of rules for conducting trials by ordeal is given.

Deposits, partnerships, contracts of service, compacts, boundary disputes,

marriage questions, inheritance and criminal offences complete the list of subjects treated of. It is impossible within the limited space available to discuss all these subjects. Nārada's rules are in many cases identical with those of other law writers, though he is occasionally obscure and not unfrequently vague. These faults, however, he shares with other writers of the same class, and it must be admitted that in many matters the information derivable from a study of his work is valuable. But in what sense is it a "*sacred* book of the East"?

Bṛihaspati, the other writer included in this volume, is extant only in fragments, and though of some importance to scholars as a help for deciding critical questions as to the date of the code of Manu and other similar points is not of much practical value. A translation was hardly called for as the scholars who are interested in the questions on which Bṛihaspati throws light are presumably sufficiently acquainted with Sanskrit to read him in the original. This is another example of the very extended application given to the title of this series.

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THE PIONEER OF THE SHORT AND RAPID ROUTE TO INDIA AND THE EAST.

BY AGNES E. WAGHORN.

ANY man who has a set purpose in life is to be envied. When, to the knowledge of what he wants to do, he adds a determined will, an extraordinary perseverance, a sanguine temperament, and indomitable energy, we may feel sure that his labours will not be in vain. Few men have possessed the above qualities in greater force than the subject of this sketch. Born at Chatham on the 7th June, 1800, Thomas Frederick Waghorn, at the age of 12, became a midshipman on board Her Majesty's ship *Tigris*, and served on the home and West India stations. At the early age of seventeen he passed as lieutenant, and during the Burmese War, being attached to the flotilla of the Arracan division, did valuable service. He planted the first gun on a hitherto inaccessible rock at the mouth of the Arracan river by hoisting a 12-pounder from the deck of his ship to a perpendicular height of 220 feet, and it still serves as a landmark for ships entering the river.

About this time he seems to have first begun to ponder on the great idea of his life. This was steam navigation, as applied to more rapid communication with the East. For several years, however, he had no thought of any route but that round the Cape, his aim being to accomplish the voyage to and fro between Calcutta and London in six months. Capt. Johnson of the *Enterprise* had already made the attempt, but the voyage had occupied 114 days to Calcutta, that being only the average time taken by the best sailing ships in the India trade. The project was therefore laid aside, those who embarked in it being threatened with heavy pecuniary losses, and a notion prevailed that the plan was unpracticable. Now, during the Burmese War the *Enterprise* was employed by the East India Company to convey troops and stores up the river from Rangoon, and on board, says the *Standard*, was a most active and intelligent officer of the name of Waghorn, who took up the subject with characteristic ardour, and availed himself of the opportunities he now had for ascertaining the defects and capabilities of such vessels as the *Enterprise*. Capt. Johnston spoke of Lieut. Waghorn as a man of persevering industry and unshaken self-possession in the hour of danger, and the justice of this opinion was fully borne out by his subsequent career.

As soon as the peace set him at liberty he took leave to England, arriving at home on April 20, 1829. Before leaving India he had laid his proposals before a public meeting at Calcutta, and, receiving some encouragement and support from the subscribers to the Steam Navigation Fund, also held meetings at Madras, Mauritius, the Cape, and St. Helena. In England he visited various towns, endeavouring to stir up popular feeling in favour of his scheme, but without much success. The mercantile

classes applauded, but the Post-Office authorities were opposed to steam navigation, and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, with the exception of Mr. Loch, were lukewarm, though they voted the necessary steam machinery for one vessel. He addressed His Majesty's Ministers and the Court of Directors, and undertook to perform the journey to India by the proposed overland route, in order to acquire a practical knowledge of it, and to form an opinion as to the establishment of steam-boats on the Red Sea, for at that time it was usually supposed that navigation on that sea was neither safe nor practicable. The postal laws compelled all vessels sailing to and from India to take letter-bags free of any sea-postage. To start a steam service to carry letters would be an impossibility unless postage were charged, and thus the Government did not see its way.

After much discouragement of various kinds, Waghorn was rejoiced to receive an intimation that he should attend before His Majesty's Commissioners of Revenue to give evidence on the subject of his scheme. The Commissioners considered his plan worthy of consideration and trial, and informed him that they would specially recommend it to the ensuing Parliament of 1830. Meantime, in September, 1829, he received notice from the East India Company that he would receive their patronage, and they only wanted a plain, sailor-like report of his voyage. He had arranged with the manager of the General Steam Company for the use of a steamer to take him from Marseilles to Alexandria at a cost of £1,000, which the East India Company would grant. But as the Steam Company now held a meeting and advanced their charge to £1,500, Waghorn, thwarted, but not baffled, determined to depend on his own resources, only asking for a courier's passport, which he received from the India House, with despatches, on the 28th October, and on that same evening he started on the journey which was to prove the practicability of his cherished plan.

The Continental part of his journey had to be done by posting, and the difficulty he experienced in procuring carriages and detention for the signing of his passport caused numerous and vexatious delays. He had intended to cross the Simplon to Genoa, but learning at Paris that the road was impassable through falling avalanches and broken bridges, he chose the longer route over Mont Cenis.

In spite of all this, he contrived to arrive at Trieste on the tenth day from London, and proudly records the fact that he put a copy of the *Times* only so many days old into the hands of the British Consul at that place, expedition which that gentleman said he had never before heard of. Delayed here again by the failure to catch an Austrian brig which had sailed a few hours before his arrival for Alexandria, and on which he hoped by posting to P'isano to secure a passage, he persuaded a Spanish vessel bound for the same place to start in forty-eight hours. A tedious passage of sixteen days brought him to Alexandria. Here he hired donkeys, and proceeded to Rosetta in search of the Consul-General, Mr. Barker, following for the first ten miles the low, swampy ground which borders the sea, resting a few hours at a caravanserai, and then along the Egyptian shore to his destination. At Rosetta disappointment awaited him, for nothing had

been heard of the expected steamer from India. Having rested during $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours, he here engaged a boat to take him down the Nile to Cairo, the Rais or Captain agreeing to put him on shore at that place for sixteen dollars, and to receive nothing if he did not do this in three days and four nights.

He made it his business to attend personally to the navigation of the boat on the Nile, and on this subject says, "There is no river in the world perhaps that baffles description on this head more than the Nile. It is sometimes at its mouth at Rosetta draught of water of ten feet. A northerly wind blowing from the Mediterranean would completely choke this up, and even raise a sandbank in its place, stopping the whole navigation at Alexandria by not allowing even a passage for the jerns or corn-boats to arrive there; this will continue till the torrents gather in consequence of the check thus experienced, and again open the same passage by the strength of their pressure." The boat grounded off Shallahan, where there are shoals, and an adverse current forced it to tack continually, so that after five days Waghorn's patience seems to have been exhausted, and giving up the Nile as hopeless, he again hired donkeys and rode on to Cairo.

Here again he was told that nothing was known of the expected steamer *Enterprise*, and he therefore determined if possible to make his way without her. On the 5th December he left Cairo on camels for Suez, and at sunset pitched his tent on the desert six miles on the way. At day-dawn he travelled on about thirty-four miles, and again halted. The next day he journeyed thirty miles, and in the evening pitched his tent four miles from Suez. The desert of Suez commencing from Cairo is a gentle ascent for about thirty-five miles of the way, then a gradual descent until you arrive at the plains of Suez. A tent is indispensable for the traveller, to shelter him from the sun's rays by day and the heavy dews at night. Antelopes Waghorn observed in parties of about a dozen each, and partridges in coveys of six and seven, but nowhere did he see them on the wing. They were not eaten by the Arabs.

At Suez, no steamer having been seen or heard of, our pioneer determined to make the voyage down the Red Sea in an open boat. This he hired from the agent of the East India Company, a Copt who was obliging but extortionate. The boat in question was not worth when new fifty dollars, but the agent asked the sum of three hundred and fifty dollars for the loan of it to Juddah. Her dimensions were forty feet long by eight broad. She had one mast and seven men as crew, including a pilot. Thus he started on a voyage of 600 miles, guiding himself by the sun and stars; and when a mutiny threatened on board, quelled it by showing his pistol and explaining that it would be used on the first sign of disobedience. He resolved to sail down the centre of the sea, in hopes of meeting the *Enterprise* between Suez and Corsire. There was little chance of missing her, for the sea itself is only fifteen miles broad at Suez, very gradually widening to no more than thirty from the Arabian to the Egyptian sides as far down as the point of Ras Mahomed.

Extracts from the boat's log journal tell us with what luck this hazardous voyage was made :

"Dec. 10th. Made sail with N.W. wind at noon five miles.

"Dec. 11th. Steady N.W. winds, steering down centre of sea, average $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. Mount Aghrib S.S.W. five or six leagues. Noon lat. $28^{\circ} 43'$. Increasing breeze. 9 p.m. hauled down large sail, hoisted small one, wind half gale; anchored under the high land of Zeyte, not thinking it safe to venture through the straits of Jubal by night, also wishing to see these straits by day.

"Dec. 12th. Hoisted small sail, steered N.E. to get into the centre of the sea prior to running through the straits, sea very high, boat taking in much water in consequence of the heavy wind and sea. At 9 a.m. bore up S.S.E. and ran through the straits passing the islands Assoon, Jubal, etc., to the E., but l'hadwan to the W., the sea being too high for us to run down the centre of the sea. Lat. at noon $27^{\circ} 24'$; run nearly ninety miles this twenty-four hours, although at rest all night; the clusters of the Jaffateen islands to the S. six miles distant.

"Sunday, 13th Dec. Strong N.W. wind half a gale, but scudding under storm-sail. Anchored for the night and lost two anchors.

"14th Dec. At daylight hoisted sail, having been drifting without since we lost anchor; running close along the shore, Jaffago Hills abreast. Sunset, laid the boat to for the night.

"14th. Made all possible sail, and at 10 a.m. entered the port of Corsire."

At Corsire the Governor told Waghorn that the *Enterprize* was expected every hour, and here he waited seven days and a half. He then again embarked in the boat for Juddah, a distance of 400 miles. Favoured by fine steady winds and settled weather, in less than four days the boat was anchored at Juddah, close to one of the E. I. Company's cruisers, the *Benares*. The captain of this vessel informed Waghorn that the *Enterprize* was not coming at all, having been found defective on her arrival at Bombay from Calcutta. He must have congratulated himself that he had not waited for her at Suez; but here, overcome by fatigue and disappointment, he fell ill. The captain and officers of the *Benares* nursed him with the greatest kindness, and after a delay of thirty days he sailed with them from Juddah, but had only cleared one harbour when a brig was sighted coming under all sail towards them. This proved to be the *Thetis* from Bombay, which had been sent with despatches in lieu of the *Enterprize*, and which now took Waghorn on board, and conveyed him without further adventure to Bombay, which place he reached on the 21st March, after a journey from London of four months and twenty-one days. Forty-two days had been wasted owing to the non-arrival of the steamer at Suez, but it was now satisfactorily proved that despatches could be conveyed to and from India even by courier, were the service well organized, in about half the time that had hitherto been employed. The day before Waghorn arrived at Bombay Commodore Wilson on the *Hugh Lindsay* steamed from that place to Suez, which trip he performed with signal success. So far, the credit of having shown by practical demonstration the feasibility of running steamers between Bombay and Suez is due to Commodore Wilson, but the experiment would have in all probability borne little fruit but for the unbounded energy of Waghorn.* He now threw into his advocacy of the Red Sea route all the admirable energy and perseverance for which he was conspicuous. He returned to England with despatches, and delivered them within three months.

* Lowe's "History of the Indian Navy."

He then visited the principal towns of England, and again held meetings and explained his plans. He had brought with him a testimonial of thanks from the Governor in Council of Bombay, and says he expected to be received with open arms, especially at the India House.

"Judge, then, of my surprise," he continues, "on being told by the Chairman of the Court that the India Company required no steam to the East at all. I told him that the feeling in India was most ardent for it; that the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, had done me the honour to predict that if ever the object were accomplished, it would be by the man who had navigated the Red Sea in an open boat. To all this the Chairman replied that the Governor-General and people of India had nothing to do with the India House, and added that if I did not go back and join their pilot service, to which I belonged, I should receive such a communication as would be by no means agreeable to me.

"On the instant I penned my resignation, and placing it in his hands, told him that I would establish the overland route in spite of the India House. This avowal," says Lieut. Waghorn, "most impolitic on my part as regarded my individual interests, is perhaps the key to much of the otherwise inexplicable opposition I subsequently met with from those whose energetic co-operation I had every apparent reason to rely on."

In this no doubt he was right. He now devoted his every endeavour to the promotion of his cherished scheme, hoping that he might be the means of bringing our distant settlements in closer communication with the mother country, and with each other. He proposed Ancona on the Adriatic as the best starting-point for steamboats plying to Alexandria, and calculated that the journey to Bombay might be made in forty-four days. This was seven years before the accession of Queen Victoria. This journey can now be done in less than thirteen days!

He spent three or four years in travelling to and fro between England and India, and in perfecting his knowledge of the different routes. In 1835 we find him in Egypt, whither he went without official recognition, but rather, as he says, with a sort of official stigma on his sanity, for in spite of his having proved the contrary, Government officials had pronounced the Red Sea to be unnavigable, and the East India Company's naval advisers declared that if it were, the north-westerns peculiar to those waters, and the south-west monsoons of the Indian Ocean, would swallow up all steamers; and as if this were not enough, the company laid documents before Parliament showing that Waghorn's scheme was unpracticable because coals cost £20 a ton at Suez, and took fifteen months to get there. On this to Egypt Waghorn went, and forthwith succeeded in carrying coals to Suez on camels' backs at a cost of £4 3s. 6d. a ton.*

"From that hour to this," says Waghorn, writing in 1849, "the same plan, at the same and even smaller cost, has been pursued in respect of all the coals of the East India Company, the saving in ten years being three-quarters of a million sterling, as between the estimated and actual cost."

At this time one of the most extraordinary men our century has pro-

* Lowe.

duced was Pacha in Egypt. Born in Roumelia, and beginning life as a dealer in tobacco, he became, on Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt, Colonel or Bym Basha of three hundred men sent to Egypt by the Porte. Present at Aboukir, he distinguished himself and received promotion, and ten years later found himself master of Cairo, elected Pacha by the people, in which office he was confirmed with hereditary succession by firman from the Porte. He was intriguing, treacherous, cruel, and cunning, quick to see what men could be useful to him, and unscrupulous in his methods of gaining them, appearing at times to be actuated only by love of his adopted country and other equally honourable motives, whilst in fact he farmed the land for his own benefit. No sooner was he in power than he called on all the landed proprietors to place the titles to their estates in his hands, and straightway abolished them. For this arbitrary act he obtained high praise from the French sycophants who surrounded him, and who hoped to use him as a tool to lower the power of England, and to obtain for France the command of the route to the East. But Mehemet Ali had the foresight to predict so early as 1815 that Egypt would ultimately be held by the English.

Having possessed himself of the whole land, he caused it to be cultivated by the peasants, then leaving them barely enough for subsistence, the fruits of their labour were swept into his own treasury.

He ruled with an iron hand; robberies and murders were almost unknown. If a village or district were the scene of an outrage, that village or district was made to suffer. So unlearned was he that up to the age of forty he could not sign his own name, yet he established schools, and even caused a small gratuity to be paid to parents who sent their children. These schools were not only primary, but special and preparatory. Hospitals were supported and encouraged by him; though he ground his people to the very dust, he was a generous master, and an affectionate father. Madden speaks of his pleasing manners and prepossessing appearance, but says, "When disturbed in mind, his scowl is what no man would willingly encounter." Such was the man Waghorn now determined to win over to the support of his scheme. He therefore entered his service, gained his esteem, and then, knowing that a regular traffic across the desert could not be carried on without the favour of its inhabitants, betook himself to the tents of the Arab tribes, made them his friends, and lived amongst them for three years. Thus he obtained their consent that the mails should pass unmolested through their country. It is much to be regretted that Waghorn has left no record of his experiences at this time of his life. With the exception of the journal kept during his memorable trial journey viâ the Red Sea to Bombay, there is no diary or note of his doings.

He now induced the Pasha to allow him to open a house of agency at Suez, and to establish caravanserais at points between Suez and Cairo. He also built houses at Cairo and Alexandria for the safe deposit of letters, and on the completion of his arrangements had the gratification of conducting from Bombay the Earl of Munster and a party of officers by the new route across the desert.

He placed a vessel of his own in the Mediterranean to ply constantly between Marseilles and Alexandria, an instance, says the *Times*,* of zeal and enterprise which deserves to be well rewarded. In June, 1837, a piece of plate, value 100 guineas, was subscribed for and presented to him "in recognition of his great services in promoting the improvement of communication with India."

In 1838 Mehemet Ali, whose prejudices against the regular transit of passengers through Egypt had been successfully overruled by Col. Barr, aided by Col. Campbell, British Consul-General, now suffered a revival of his fears to frustrate their transit. He thought the English would convert the rest-houses into forts, and they had to be abandoned. The old way of travelling was resumed. Passengers were transported by dromedaries. Upon this Waghorn sought and obtained the Pasha's leave to establish English steamers on the Nile, and the tedious formidable journey became a pleasure excursion. A large iron boat of 130 tons, tracked by four horses, conveyed travellers from Alexandria by the Mahmoudieh canal to Alfieh on the Nile, whence an iron steamer took them to Boolak, the port of Cairo, and here a steamer was always in readiness to convey those coming from India down the river. There were three ways of travelling between Cairo and Suez: by small spring-carts in sixteen or eighteen hours, by donkey litters in thirty to fifty hours, and by dromedaries in twenty-five to thirty hours.

This, however, by no means satisfied Waghorn. The *Times* correspondent at Cairo writes on the 5th November, 1844, that the chief subject of interest at that place was the project of improving the Desert transit, and he encloses a copy of a letter from Waghorn to the Pasha of Egypt, which, in its impetuous determination to overrule all objections and to conquer all difficulties, is so characteristic that it shall be given in full:

"You asked me for a letter last evening. This is the letter I promised your Highness in my interview with you.

"The time is now come, the British Government requires the shortest route to the East. This is only to be got through your dominions, Egypt being the centre and highroad between China to the East, and America to the West. Eleven years ago your Highness projected a railroad over the desert of Suez. The time has now arrived to execute it.

"Let no political object stop its execution; do it, and you will make Egypt the emporium as it was of old.

"This I write confidently. Messrs. Rothschild, the most extensive financiers in Europe, can find you the money, either in London, Paris, or Vienna. Should you doubt it, I have been assured by them it can be done.

"The railroad through Egypt must come. I beg your Highness to reflect on this, in order to hand your name to posterity as a greater man, beyond any sovereign in any European country.

"Political, commercial, and domestic relations between the East and West call upon you to do this work.

"Egypt has already become the highroad for Governor-Generals, Officials, and their dependents, also for letters, valuable merchandise, etc., between Europe and the East and West.

"Let a railroad be consolidated by acquiring information from the first-rate engineers of Europe—Messrs. Stephenson or Brunell.

* *Times*, 5th May, 1837.

"Your country is destined to rise.

"Russia, Austria, Prussia, England, America, and all other countries except France, wish for this railroad. France knows that if it is made, Trieste will become what Marseilles now is. Look to the map of Europe for the truth of these observations, and if your Highness will place yourself or me in communication with both financiers and engineers, you will have ample proof that it will pay your country, and be the means of more wealth and commerce than now is foreseen.

"The diplomatists would keep your Highness from its execution. Reason calls on you to do this work. By it you will attract the whole world to this country, destined I believe to rise among nations.

"Whether your Highness makes this railroad between Cairo and Suez or not, it will come to pass by time, as certainly as the sun rises.

"Seize the opportunity at once, and effect it. In your dynasty of Egypt it will come, as certainly as these lines are written. Money, if wanting, is to be had, and the execution of a railroad from Cairo to Suez, will send your name down to posterity greater than any act I can remember in modern history.

"I seek no emolument, no honour, no credit. Your Highness stands forward among rulers for what you have done. Complete this railroad from Cairo to Suez, and Egypt will certainly become greater. Who can predict the benefits it may produce? I am only a humble man telling you these ideas. I feel that every word here expressed comes from my heart, as I hope it may carry conviction to your feelings. Circumstances call upon you to make this railroad. With humble respect,

"Your Highness's humble servant,

"THOMAS WAGHORN."

The railway was made, in part at least, within a few years, but was converted by Abbas Pasha, successor to Mehemet Ali, into a means of extracting gain, and the fares charged were so exorbitant as to defeat its object.

It was now possible to make the journey from India to England via Marseilles in thirty-five days; but the French, animated by hostile feelings towards England, placed so many difficulties in the way of this route that Waghorn, indignant, turned his thoughts towards that by Trieste.

Receiving only rebuffs from the English Government, he turned to Austria for assistance, and with greater success. The *London Mail* of April 24, 1846, says, "The restless energies of Lieut. Waghorn have taken a fresh direction. He is agitating for the establishment of steam communication with the Australian colonies from Singapore via Batavia, Wednesday Island, and Port Essington to Port Jackson. Meanwhile, this officer is not relaxing one iota of the exertions he has been making for improving the overland route to India. He is as sanguine as ever, and fully determined on demonstrating by a series of experiments the advantage of the Trieste route over that by Marseilles. He is the man to do it if it can be done, for he does not hesitate at ordinary difficulties, nor will he allow himself to be influenced by either public indifference or official apathy. Despite opposition in every shape, he has the moral courage to persevere. Such men are invaluable in their generation."

In the year 1845 he sailed for Alexandria in order to receive the mail which left Bombay on the 1st October, and to prove his contention that the new route via Trieste was the more speedy. The *Times* of Nov. 1st speaks of the excitement and interest caused in commercial circles by this race. He brought the mail to England in 99 $\frac{1}{4}$ hours, four days in advance of the ordinary mail via Marseilles. The French were not uninterested,

for the *Journal des Débats*, Nov., 1845, attached great importance to this trial journey, as imperilling the continuance of the mail route through France, but the transit from Alexandria to London took 290 hours, owing to the bad organization of French steam-service, inferior rate of sailing, and the strictness of the French quarantine laws. Then came a suggestion from Barcelona that the mails for India should be carried through Spain. By this time Waghorn had come to the end of his own resources; in fact, he was pecuniarily a ruined man. He had married a woman of fortune, a devoted wife, who willingly sacrificed her all to further her husband's projects. So embarrassed were they that, fearing an execution in their house, their plate was sent for safety to that of a friend. For this trial trip via Trieste the *Times*, ever a generous friend to Waghorn, supplied the funds. The trip was made in January, and in the following month he was presented with £300 by the Court of Directors. For the last seven years he had carried the mails, and perhaps the E. I. Company, knowing their intention to deprive him of this privilege, gave him this sum by way of consolation. In March, 1847, the directors of Austrian Lloyds were granted concessions for forwarding the Egyptian and Indian mails, and a semi-monthly courier service was established.

Superseded in this, Waghorn set about providing easier means of transit and more comfortable accommodation for travellers. He may be said to have created the passenger traffic, but again was superseded by an influential company under the patronage of government. Impoverished and in debt he applied for assistance to discharge obligations contracted in the public service and whilst waiting the result of his application retired to Malta, seeking there with his wife the rest and freedom from care, which he hoped might restore his shattered health. In the year 1849 a pension of £200 a year was granted to him by Government, and one of the same amount by the East India Company. He only lived to draw these allowances once. He returned to England, landing on Christmas Day, 1849. But he came only to die. At first it was thought that his iron constitution and irrepressible energy would stand him in good stead and conduce to his recovery, but it soon became apparent that though in the prime of life he was worn out. He expired on the 7th January, 1850, and was interred privately at Snodlands near Rochester.

On the 18th August, 1888, a bronze statue of Lieut. Waghorn, erected by public subscription, was unveiled by the Earl of Northbrook. The statue is erected on a rising ground, near the railway station, and only a short distance from the house in which Lieut. Waghorn was born. On the base of the statue is the inscription:

"Thomas Frederick Waghorn, Lieutenant R.N., Pioneer and Founder of the Overland Route. Born at Chatham 1800. Died January 7th, 1850."

The end was a very sad one when we consider the immense benefits which he was the means of conferring on his country. Probably the resolute will which was the keynote of his character was not a little the cause of his non-appreciation by the authorities. He knew so well that what he wanted to do could be done that he was intolerant of a difference of opinion. A man who begins an argument with "You will not get me

to believe" is more likely to create opposition than to convince. However that may be, one can only feel sorry that so useful a life should have ended in such bitter disappointment.

Both pensions died with him. The India Office, however, granted his widow a pension of £50, and a munificent Government, in recognition of the "eminent services" of her late husband, awarded her the sum of £25 per annum. This fact having been rather severely commented on in the press, another £15 was added.

There is evidence that M. de Lesseps when in England as a young man (he was five years junior to Waghorn) attended at least one of the latter's meetings, and supported his plans. He is believed to have said that to Waghorn he owed his first inception of the Suez Canal. He erected his bust at the southern entrance, and it bears the inscription, "Au brave Lieutenant Waghorn."

A PIONEER OF KOREAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY THE LATE E. B. LANDIS, M.D.

THERE was born, in the prefecture of Tan Ouel in Chyoung Chyeng To, in the year 1600, a child who was destined to play an important part in the history of his own native state, as well as in that of China. Of the ancestry and early history of Im Kyeng Ep we know very little. He was, as indeed the children of Korean nobility all are, sent to school at an early age, but he cared little for the sedentary life of a student. His early training was therefore almost entirely due to his widowed mother, and she certainly deserves much praise for her success. He was very fond of her, and whenever he was appointed to an official position or entrusted with a mission far from home, his first act was to visit his mother, some of these interviews and farewells being very touching. Such conduct is the more remarkable in the far East, because a rigid system of propriety represses the growth of natural affection,—the relations between parent and child being there fixed by rule, so that the principles of duty and responsibility take the place (especially amongst the educated classes) of parental love and filial affection. Im's family, although belonging to the class of patricians, were poor, and supported themselves by farming, an occupation which is regarded in the East with respect, and as second only to that of the scholar. Being poor, and seeing that her son gave promise of great things, the mother can scarcely be blamed for instilling into his mind, from his earliest years, the following lesson: "Men are born that they may aspire to great things, and serving the king with fidelity attain a name that will find an honourable place in the records of the nation. Why should they be content to be born, live, and die, like the trees of the forest?" At the age of 13 we find the youth practising archery and horsemanship by day, and at night neglecting the orthodox classics for treatises on the art of war. We are not surprised therefore to hear that at 18 years of age he was successful in passing the examination in archery which was held periodically in the capital; but to come out, as he did, at the head of the list of successful candidates was remarkable for a youth of his age. After this success, he received an appointment as one of the Guards of the Royal Prison in which he was doomed in after years to meet an untimely death. After a short visit home to acquaint his mother with his success, he entered on his duties, and held this post for a few years, during which he led an uneventful life. He was next appointed to the Lieutenantcy of Paik Ma Kang in his native province. Here he found more scope for his ambition, and soon succeeded in making a name for himself by his wise and good administration, and the encouragement which he gave to agriculture, a merit which is most highly regarded in Korea as well as in China. The Board of War was about this time seeking for a suitable person to hold an important military position on the mountain of T'yen Ma, near Song To, and repair the fortifications which had been destroyed by the Japanese some thirty years before. Ouen Tou P'yo, who was then Minister of the Right

suggested to the king the name of Im Kyeng Ep, and the king approving he was appointed to the charge of this fortress and ordered to repair it as quickly as possible. Before leaving his former post at Paik Ma Kang he gave a feast to his soldiers, sitting down in their midst and drinking with them. This, and similar acts, explain the affection and good-will which Im Kyeng Ep always won amongst his soldiers. He mixed with them, joining in their pleasures and sharing their burdens, with an absence of reserve rare indeed in an Oriental official. After this feast he took charge of the fortress, but before commencing the repairs he again gave a feast to the workmen. In Korea it is the invariable rule to begin an important work with feasting, and so far Im was only following the custom of the labouring classes. But we read of an action following the feast which we can scarcely believe to have taken place in Korea, where patriotism is practically non-existent. We are told that "Im killed a white horse, and that he and his men drank its blood whilst taking an oath to be faithful to each other and to the king." After more feasting they set to work, the Government at Seoul aiding Im by sending skilled workmen and everything needful. The historians say that each one laboured "as if he were doing his own work instead of that of the Government," a phrase which contains a world of meaning to any foreigner who has lived in Korea and been under the necessity of employing natives by the day. The youthful Commander of the Garrison laboured with his men, making himself useful in every possible way, and even carrying stones, so that in less than a year's time the fortifications were in perfect order. Another feast and gifts to the workmen followed, with complimentary speeches on both sides. It is said that the king was filled with admiration for his new servant when he heard of the energy displayed by him.

The eighth moon had now arrived, and with it the time for the transmission of the annual tribute to China, an acknowledgment of allegiance which Korea had continued with few interruptions for more than a thousand years. The tribute mission usually started from the peninsula about the eighth moon so as to allow a sufficient period for unforeseen delays in the journey and yet arrive before the winter solstice, when the tribute was offered to the Emperor. As tribute-bearer this year the king appointed Yi Si Paik. The journey to Nanking, the capital of China at that time, was not a trifling one, for it will be remembered that Korean craft were very frail and utterly unseaworthy. Add to this the distance to Nanking and the frequency of storms at that time of the year, and we have a journey which few would care to undertake voluntarily. Yi Si Paik being commanded by the king could not decline; and it is an indication of the confidence placed in Im Kyeng Ep that he begged him to accompany the mission. Nothing was more to the liking of an adventurous spirit like Im than a journey of this kind, and he required little urging. After obtaining the king's consent and paying a farewell visit to his mother, he started with the tribute-bearer and reached Nanking safely in the ninth moon. This was in 1624, and deputies from the now rising State of the Manchus (which at this period of history was always known in Korea as Ho Kouk or the Land of the Northern Barbarians) arrived with tribute about the same

time; bringing also an earnest request for troops to aid them in an expedition against the Ka Tal, a tribe of nomadic Turks from the valley of the Oxus, who constantly threatened Northern China. These requests for troops by tributary states from their suzerain are a recognised privilege, and we frequently read of them in the history of far Eastern States, especially of Korea. The requests were always complied with, unless there were good reasons to the contrary. It is interesting to note in this connection that so late as 1624 the Manchus regarded China in the light of a suzerain power. Hoang Cha Myeng was at this time in charge of the entertainment of the Korean envoys, and he introduced Im Kyeng Ep to the Emperor as a fit man to be placed in command of the Chinese soldiers whom it was intended to send against the Ka Tal. In order to understand why so youthful an officer (of whose abilities neither the Emperor nor Hoang Cha Myeng could have known anything save from report) was entrusted with this difficult and responsible office it is necessary to consider the condition of China at that time. It was near the close of the Ming dynasty, when the brave and warlike spirit of two centuries before had given place to corruption and effeminacy. Every Chinese dynasty passes through the same stages. First a time of war, during which they secure the throne by deeds of valour and acts of bravery, which cause admiration in all who read of them. This is followed by a period during which the arts of peace are cultivated, with only an occasional battle or expedition against the border tribes. The third and last stage is one in which the Emperor feeling secure gives himself up to the delights of the harem, leaving the Government to his officials, who use their power only for personal aggrandizement while the State suffers from intrigue and corruption. It was to this stage that the Ming dynasty was reduced in 1624; and it can readily be seen that none of the officials had sufficient patriotism to seek the command of so arduous an expedition. Had one less effeminate than the rest volunteered, he would have excited the apprehensions of the rest lest he should utilize his army in rebellion against the State. There was therefore no opposition to Im's undertaking this difficult campaign. It was an expedition from which many might have shrunk, for it involved a long march to the far north against a hostile tribe whose fighting powers, both before and since, China has had good reason to fear; for it gave one dynasty to that country and made several more totter on their thrones. But it suited well the adventurous spirit of Im Kyeng Ep; he foresaw, however, that the Ka Tal might not be his worst enemies, and that the Chinese subordinate officers and men might refuse to be led by a man who was a foreigner, and, as they considered, a barbarian. He frankly told the Emperor that he must be invested with absolute control. The Emperor, whose thoughts were more occupied with his harem than with the outside world, unhesitatingly gave him a sword which carried with it the privilege of capital punishment at the discretion of the wearer. In order to impress the soldiers with his power, Im drew this sword in their presence, warning them that he would tolerate no disobedience to his orders. After thanking the Emperor for his favours, a formality which is always observed upon appointment to office, the expedition started for the Manchu capital, which

the historians say was 3,700 li distant. The Manchu king came out to meet Im, and escorting him into the Palace, treated him with due honour and respect. The Korean Commander-in-chief was, however, anxious to complete his task, and making his stay in the Manchu Capital as short as was consistent with propriety, he started for the battlefield. The Manchus, with that characteristic which has so often distinguished them since that time, allowed their friends to do the work which should have been done by themselves whilst they stood by and encouraged the allies with empty compliments. Im Kyeng Ep pitched his camp at a place called Syem Kok, right in the face of the enemy. For a day and a night the opponents faced each other, doing nothing save giving the challenge, and receiving the answer, and in this way working themselves up to the fighting-point of passion. The challenge and its answer are so childish and ridiculous that I will not quote them, but merely give their substance. Chyouk Chai, the Ka Tal Commander, abused Im for his presumption in thinking of coming to battle with him—and advised him to return and spare his own life as well as the lives of the Chinese with him. Im Kyeng Ep retorted in boastful language that Chyouk Chai knew not what he was talking about. Messages passed backwards and forwards until the combatants thinking they had reached a sufficient pitch of passion came to blows. There was heavy fighting for some time, but save that two of the Ka Tal officers were killed no advantage had been gained on either side. Chyouk Chai soon saw that if he wished to win it was necessary to either kill or capture Im, whose constant presence in the thickest of the fight inspired the troops with a courage which it was impossible to overcome. An opportunity soon presented itself when the Commander-in-chief and his bodyguard became separated from the main body of the army. Chyouk Chai took advantage of this, and falling on them forced them still farther back. This was a critical time for Im, for he was separated from the main body of his army, and almost surrounded by the Ka Tal. He was however equal to the occasion, and retired in the direction of a pass, where by a wise forethought he had placed a division of the army previous to the battle. On reaching this pass the Chinese suddenly attacked the Ka Tal from their cover, the onslaught being so sudden that the Ka Tal became confused and were compelled to retreat. The Chinese quickly following up their advantage the retreat became a rout. During the pursuit Im had the satisfaction of laying Chyouk Chai's head at his horse's feet with one blow of the Emperor's sword.

The historians say that the killed were innumerable, but this is only an Oriental way of saying "many." The losses of the Chinese are not recorded. The tendency to exaggerate the losses of the enemy and minimize those of the narrating nation continues to the present day, as is well known to those who have read either the Japanese or Chinese reports of battles during the late war.

To return however to Im Kyeng Ep. After the battle he generously released all the prisoners taken, but exacted a promise that they would never again take up arms against China or any of its vassal states. Returning to the Manchu Court he was lauded for his bravery, and honours

were showered upon him. An iron monument was erected to him, and he received many gifts, which however he divided amongst his soldiers. He also received one of the highest honours which it is possible for an Eastern monarch to bestow on a subject, namely the gift of a cup of wine from the king's own hands. Im Kyeng Ep then returned to Nanking, where fresh honours awaited him, and after being feasted and praised at the Chinese Imperial Court, he set out for his native country, and reached it safely after a month's journey. He was the bearer of a letter to the king of Korea, in which his exploits were fully described. His reputation was now established. He had undertaken a difficult task and accomplished it successfully, receiving great honours from both the Manchu king and the Chinese Emperor. It would have been strange indeed if Korea had not imitated the example of China, to whom she looked as the embodiment of all perfection, in honouring the successful general. Im Kyeng Ep was therefore promoted.

It was just about this time that Kim Cha Chyem, the Prime Minister, began to plot against the state, but fearing Im he dared not move as long as the latter remained near the Capital. Circumstances favoured his plans, for the Manchus, with that ingratitude which has always characterized them, had come to spy out Korea preparatory to an invasion. The Governor of Wi Ju, not knowing what course to take, reported the facts to Seoul and asked for instructions. The king hastily summoned his council, who were unanimous in the opinion that there was no man better fitted to deal with the emergency than Im Kyeng Ep, especially as the Manchus knew his ability as a soldier. Im was therefore appointed Governor of Wi Ju, and was also placed at the head of the Coast Defences, whilst Kim Cha Chyem was made Commander-in-chief of the army. Im lost no time in repairing to his frontier post, the Manchus retiring immediately on his arrival. He was not to be deceived, however, into thinking that they had permanently gone, and drilling his troops daily prepared himself for any emergency. He had not waited many days before a small body of Manchus again made their appearance, and were speedily captured. After rebuking them for their ingratitude he sent them back with a warning that any future attempt would not be dealt with so leniently. When the Manchu king heard of this threat he was very angry, and immediately sent 7,000 troops to punish Im "for his impertinence." In due time they arrived at the Yalu, and challenged the Governor of Wi Ju to a battle. The challenge was accepted, and the Manchus were soon put to flight. In their haste to get away many of them fell into the water and were drowned. The Manchus raised another and a larger army, and a Council of War was held which came to the decision that the route by land was inadvisable for several reasons, amongst which the fear of Im was not the least. Yong Kol Tai was therefore placed at the head of an army which was sent by sea. He received strict injunctions to strike a decisive blow as quickly as possible, before even the news of his landing could reach Wi Ju.

After the first defeat of the Manchu force Im very well knew that it would not be long before a second army was despatched, so he continued his daily drill of the troops. All the walls of the city and the fortifications

of the neighbourhood were repaired where necessary, and the arms and ammunition regularly inspected. The Court, however, were living in a fool's paradise, imagining that as the Manchus were defeated there would be no further trouble. The lessons taught by the Japanese invasion seemed to have been lost, for no sooner had the excitement of the Manchu defeat passed away than the king and nobles abandoned themselves to music, dancing, and plotting. This is characteristic of the Korean at the present day. He is unable to draw lessons from past experience, and pursues his childish pleasures, not thinking of danger when it is not at his gates. It is due to this defect in the national character that the lives of Im Kyeng Ep and a few others stand out so prominently. Had there been men of this stamp in Korea at the present day the history of the late Japanese invasion might have read differently.

In the midst of this feasting and merriment at Court the people of the Capital awoke one morning to find the Manchus before the East gate of the city. "They came," say the historians, "like the incoming tide, carrying death and destruction with them." The people were paralyzed with terror, and knew not what to do. In the confusion which ensued, fathers and sons, husbands and wives, elder and younger brothers, old and young, lost sight of each other in their haste to get away. It was a time of terror and confusion, the people fearing for their lives and the Royal Family for their ancestral tablets, the loss or destruction of which meant the downfall of the dynasty. The king, however, wisely determining that his life was of more value than the tablets, fled with a small retinue to the fortified mountain of Nam Han. Many of the people, with the soldiers who had not already fled, followed them. The Queen and the three Royal Princes fled to Kang Hoa, taking with them the ancestral tablets, which were temporarily buried on that island. A large number of the people having no place of refuge were compelled to remain at the mercy of the barbarians, and if half the stories related of the Manchus by the historians be true, the title of "barbarians" is more complimentary than they deserve.

Yong Kol Tai sent a division of the army to Kang Hoa after the Princes, whilst he besieged Nam Han. The Kang Hoa division had no difficulty in landing on the island, for Kim Yeng Chin the Governor at that time, drowned his terrors in drink, leaving the island and the Royal family to take care of themselves. The Queen and the three Princes were taken prisoners without difficulty, and sent under guard to Yong Kol Tai, who had encamped on the plains of Song P'a in front of Nam Han. Yong Kol Tai now made the best of his opportunities and sent a message to the king demanding his surrender, and threatening in case of refusal to put the three Princes to death. Kim Cha Chyem, who, it will be remembered, was Commander-in-chief of the army, was not thinking of defence, but of how he could make the most of this opportunity to further his own ends. The king was indeed in a sad plight. He was besieged by the enemy without, and within all his ministers were divided amongst themselves, thoughts of personal aggrandizement taking the place of loyalty to the king. To add to his difficulties the food was becoming exhausted.

One of his ministers advised fighting to the last as more noble than surrender, but he was one amongst many, and his suggestion was treated with scorn. On the 21st day of the 12th moon of 1636 the king signed a letter of submission and sent it to Yong Kol Tai. The latter had a monument erected on the plain of Song P'a, commemorating the king's submission and lauding his own ability in boastful terms, which was standing until a detachment of Japanese soldiers destroyed it in the late war. The king was permitted to return to his palace in the capital, and the Queen was released and sent with him. Not so the Royal Princes, for they were carried off as prisoners to Peking. The king was compelled to sign articles of submission to China, which were dictated by Yong Kol Tai. What these terms were we are not told, but from others both previous and subsequent, we come to the conclusion that it was simply an acknowledgment of the suzerainty of China with an annual tribute mission and the use of the Chinese calendar.

Of all these events Im Kyeng Ep, at Wi-Ju, was in profound ignorance. In fact, he was daily expecting the return of the Manchu army. Yong Kol Tai had killed all the guards of the signal fires as he marched, and placing some of his own men in charge flashed signals of peace to all the provincial capitals. Such a state of ignorance could not, however, continue when refugees from the capital began to spread the news in the provinces. And when Yong Kol Tai had received the king's submission he rather encouraged the spread of the news, so that in his march back to China the people might fear his power and consequently render his army all the aid possible. We are told that when the news reached Im Kyeng Ep he wept. But he was determined that the Manchus should not return to their country without a blow.

Having received the king's submission, Yong Kol Tai started for China with the Crown Prince and his two brothers as hostages. There was sorrow in the Royal Family, not so much on account of affection, as because the king was now growing old, and in case harm befell the Princes he could no more hope to have a son to offer up sacrifices to his shade. It must not be understood that Koreans are entirely devoid of love between parent and child. I have met with many instances in which the affection displayed was most touching, but amongst the educated classes as mentioned before this emotion is warped by a false system of education.

The king was unwilling to trust the Princes to the care of the Chinese alone, and Yi Yeng, a tutor to the Crown Prince, was sent with them and made answerable for their safety with his life. The army, in its march to China, traversed the well-known Peking Road by way of Mo Hoa Koan and Hong Chyei Ouen, passing the prefectural cities of Ko Yang and P'a-Chyou; and crossing the Im Chin River, they soon arrived at Kai Syeng (the modern Song To), where they halted for a day. Resuming their march, they went by way of Pong San to P'yeng Yang, where another halt was made, after which they started in the direction of Wi Ju. Im had placed pickets at intervals along the roads leading into Wi Ju, who were instructed to inform him as soon as the Manchus were in sight. It was not long before news of their approach was brought. Hastily assembling

his army, he marched out to meet them. As they neared Wi Ju, they sounded the drums of victory in a manner most irritating to Im, who was already annoyed at having been outwitted. The Manchus, however, never dreamt that Im would dare to oppose them, for Yong Kol Tai had taken good care to acquaint Im with the fact of the king's submission, and of the presence of the Royal Princes with the army. They were taken by surprise when Im fell upon their army, killing right and left. The attack was so sudden that the result can well be imagined. The Manchus were dispersed and fled. Im thinking that he had inflicted sufficient punishment upon them retired to Wi Ju. As soon as Yong Kol Tai could collect his scattered army, he did so, and pitched his camp about 10 li from Wi Ju. A council of war was held, and it was decided to send the king's letter of submission to Im, and demand why he opposed the will of his sovereign. This had not the desired effect, for he accused them of having forged the letter. The Crown Prince was now sent that Im might be convinced of the king's submission. By this time his anger had cooled down somewhat, and he thought of the danger to which the Princes were exposed, so sheathing his sword, he sent word to Yong Kol Tai that he would oppose him no longer. The Manchus, without a moment's delay, crossed the Yalu, and marched towards Peking, doubtless very glad to get beyond the reach of this fiery Korean. Before parting with the Princes, he promised that he would bring them back safely to Korea, a promise which he afterwards fulfilled. When the Manchu king heard of the opposition offered by Im, he was very angry, and threatened Yong Kol Tai with dire punishment for not exterminating this army of Koreans. His anger soon cooled, however, for he could not afford at that time to lose his general, nor did he care to undertake another expedition into Korea. He had more important projects on hand. There yet remained Nanking to be conquered before the whole of China was brought under his sway, and he could in truth be called Emperor. Knowing Im's attachment to the Southern Court, and his hatred of the Northern one, he thought of a plan by which he could humble and punish this haughty general, and be himself the gainer. He sent an envoy to Korea, which he now reckoned as a vassal state, requesting that Im be sent with 3,000 Korean troops to aid him in his operations against Nanking. The king was in a predicament. To refuse was to incur the displeasure of his suzerain, and expose the country to another invasion; whilst on the other hand he knew Im's value, and did not wish to have him leave the country. He called a Council of his Ministers, who decided that as Korea had given in its allegiance to Peking, the request must be complied with. In this Council Kim Cha Chyem, the Prime Minister, was especially active in advocating the above course, for he wished to get rid of Im in order to have a freer hand amongst the soldiers, who were most loyal to the Governor of Wi Ju. Im therefore set out for Peking, after receiving a charge from the king to send back the Princes if possible. He arrived safely, and was immediately sent to attack Pi To near Nanking. The Manchu king, however, did not trust this expedition entirely to Im, but sent with it a body of Manchu soldiers as well. Now the defence of

Pi To was entrusted to Hoang Cha Myeng, the sworn friend of Im ; but the Manchu ruler never dreamt of treachery, for he knew that Im was absolutely in his power. He had, however, reckoned without his host, for as soon as Im approached Nanking, he sent a letter secretly to Hoang, telling him the circumstances of the case, and asking him to make a pretence of submission, after which they could discuss future action. Im then led his army up to that of the Chinese, and, falling into all sorts of traps which were laid for him, the loss to his own army was great. He, however, took good care that these losses should be amongst the Manchu soldiers, and killed quite a number of them with his own sword, pretending afterwards that he was not able to distinguish them from the Chinese in the thick of the fight. The corruptions of the Ming Court had however extended to the army, and there would indeed have been little opposition, had not Im led his men into the traps laid for them in the blindest way. It was not long before the Chinese army offered their submission, and Hoang Cha Myeng signed articles to this effect, and sent them to Peking. Im, after several days of feasting with his old friend Hoang, led his own soldiers back to Korea.

When the Manchu king received the articles of submission signed by Hoang (which it will be remembered were only a pretence in order that Im might get out of his trouble with honour), the Manchu Lieutenant told the king that most of the soldiers who fell in battle were Manchus, and accused Im of treachery. He related how Hoang Cha Myeng, who had the reputation of being an able general, had submitted with scarcely a blow and practically no loss, and, further, that Im had immediately returned to Korea with his men without first reporting to the Manchu king. After inquiry, the Manchu sovereign despatched an envoy at once to Korea, demanding that Im be sent to Peking to answer the charge brought against him. Had the king wished to disobey the order, there is no doubt he would have been able to oppose the Manchus successfully, for the soldiers were to a man loyal to Im, and would undergo any amount of hardship for his sake. But he adopted a course which could only inspire contempt. He decided to send Im back to Peking as a prisoner. Im, however, was not going to run the risk of death without an attempt at escape. Before leaving for Peking, he managed to secrete a knife in his purse, and one night just before reaching the Yalu River, which separates China from Korea, he cut the cords with which he was bound, and succeeded in escaping. Travelling along the least frequented roads by night, and secreting himself by day, he reached Song Ni San in his native province. Here he took refuge in a small Buddhist temple. It was a retired spot unfrequented by visitors, and inhabited by only 3 or 4 monks. The abbot, named Tok Pou, thought it strange that so noble-looking a man should wish to become a monk, but said nothing, and, shaving his head, admitted him as a disciple. For the sake of safety and solitude it was Im's practice to retire into the forest by day, only appearing in the evening in time for his food, after which he immediately lay down to rest. Such a course naturally evoked curiosity in Tok Pou's mind, who one day asked him the cause of it. The only answer he could elicit was : "Wait, and one day you will know all about it."

We must now however return to the envoy who was charged with the duty of taking Im back to China. He searched everywhere, but finding no trace of him was compelled to return to Peking, and report the facts of the case to his Royal Master. The latter, it is needless to say, was furious at being again thwarted, but had little time to indulge in vain regrets, for by this time he had found out that Hoang Cha Myeng, far from submitting, was growing more powerful every day, and unless his army was soon conquered, the Manchu dream of Empire would soon pass away. He was therefore kept busily employed in organizing an expedition against Nanking. In the meanwhile Im came up to Sam Kai, and Yong San, near Seoul, dressed as a monk, and having made friends with a broker, confided to him that a merchant from Yen An had promised 500 bags of rice for the use of his temple, but that he knew not how to get it to Song Ni San. If the broker would furnish him with a boat and 30 men, he would be glad to give him 250 bags as payment. This was too good a bargain for the broker to refuse, and as soon as it was concluded Im returned to Song Ni San to bring Tok Pou with him—an unwise step, which he afterwards had cause to regret. They left Yong San ostensibly bound for Yen An, but really for China. Im himself guided the boat past Yen An, whereupon the boatmen demanded an explanation. Throwing aside his overcoat, the boatmen were dumbfounded to see standing before them a man in full armour instead of a monk. Drawing his sword, he made known his identity, telling them that he wanted to go first to Nanking and afterwards to Peking to bring the Princes back to Korea. He also threatened them not only with his vengeance, but with that of the king of Korea in case of their refusal. The boatmen had very little desire of going to China, but Im's threats prevailed. They put out to sea, and in due time reached Nanking. The governor of the maritime province, near Nanking, had them thrown into prison as pirates, but Im managed to get a letter delivered to Hoang Cha Myeng, who immediately released them. He soon found that a great change had come over China. The Manchus had absorbed the country little by little until now only a small district remained besides the capital, and a Manchu army was being raised to take this as well. Hoang had no time to amuse himself with Im, so leaving the latter near the Capital, he started to check the advance of the Manchus upon Nanking. In the meanwhile Tok Pou, the Buddhist monk whom Im had brought with him, was planning treason with the Manchus. He told them all about Im and his plans, and promised to deliver him into their hands for 1,000 ounces of gold. The Manchu king offered 2,000 ounces of gold if Im was delivered to him. Tok Pou forged a letter purporting to be from Hoang Cha Myeng, begging Im to come to his assistance immediately, as he was wounded. This letter was sent by a messenger to Im, who having suspicions that all might not be right imprisoned the messenger. From fear of torture the messenger confessed that Tok Pou had sent him. Im, therefore, had Tok Pou arrested, who on being beaten confessed that he had written the letter. Instead of putting this treacherous monk to death as he fully deserved Im generously released him.

Tok Pou repeated the same ruse a second time. When Im received the second letter, he feared that Hoang might really be in danger, and taking a few men with him started for the Chinese camp. That night about the 3rd watch he was suddenly awakened by a number of Manchu soldiers who had come, according to an arrangement with Tok Pou, to take him. Seizing his sword, he cut right and left before he was finally overcome. He was however captured, and sent as a prisoner to Peking. The joy of the Manchu king knew no bounds when Im was brought before him, but was soon turned to anger under the taunts of the Korean General. The king demanded service from Im, who scornfully refused it, adding that he would aid the Chinese against him. For that purpose he came to China, and for that purpose he would ever exert himself. Im was ordered out to execution, but the king could not help admiring the indifference and fortitude with which Im regarded this order, and, staying the executioner's hand, had the Korean cast into prison.

Although the Manchu king had absorbed most of the Chinese Empire, yet it was far from pacified, and isolated bands of rebels were springing up everywhere. There yet remained a great deal to be done in order to make his throne secure. He therefore wanted able men, and especially did he want Im. The king changed his tactics, and Im was feasted and treated as a prince generally. This was an opportunity which he could not allow to pass, and therefore was constantly entreating the king to allow the Korean Princes to return home. The king, wishing to conciliate him as much as possible, consented. Their joy at returning was, however, tempered with sadness that Im was not permitted to join them. Before leaving Peking the Princes were each told to make a request, and if it was within the power of the king to grant it he would. The Crown Prince begged for some of the gold and silver ornaments and vessels of which he had seen so many at Court. The other Princes united in begging that the Korean prisoners taken during the invasion of a few years before be released and allowed to return home. These requests being granted, the Princes started for home. Great was the joy at the Korean Court at their return. The king however was vexed at the Crown Prince for his covetousness in asking for gold and silver, and, deposing him, elevated his younger brother to that position.

In the meanwhile Im had begged that Tok Pou the monk, who had so treacherously betrayed him, should be put to death. This request the Manchu king also complied with. Nothing however could shake Im's loyalty to Korea, and he steadily refused to enter the king's service. Now the Manchu king had a daughter who was of a marriageable age, and her father could think of no more suitable husband than Im. But the latter bluntly refused, saying that he had one wife living in Korea, and that Oriental proprieties forbade two wives. This could not be gainsaid, and after great reluctance, the Manchu king, seeing that it was useless to tamper with Im's loyalty, permitted him to return home.

Kim Cha Chyem knew well that if Im returned his own plots would be unsuccessful, so he tried by every means in his power to get the king to condemn Im for treason in aiding China against the suzerain power. His

efforts were however unsuccessful; he was only censured for his pains. He was completely over-shadowed by Im, and determined to take a decisive step. As Prime Minister and as Commander-in-chief of the army he possessed a great deal of influence, and therefore he sent some of his myrmidons to seize Im as soon as he crossed the Yalu. This was done, and he was secretly hurried off to Seoul and cast into the Royal Prison in utter ignorance of the cause of his arrest. The king however knowing the date of Im's departure from Peking, was daily expecting news of him, and sent one of the Councillors out to welcome him in the king's name. This man fearing Kim Cha Chyem, did not take the message but simply reported that he could obtain no news of the returning general.

Now Im, after he was thrown into prison, was refused everything, even water to drink, but the following morning the keeper of the prison having pity on him, told him all about Kim Cha Chyem's plots against him and against the throne. Im succeeded in escaping from his confinement and proceeded to the Palace, where the king at that moment was receiving his Ministers. He asked the king to tell him the cause of his arrest and imprisonment. The king was thunderstruck when he heard of the arrest, and demanded of his Prime Minister the cause. Kim Cha Chyem scarcely knowing what to say or do, faltered out that he had given orders to have Im arrested and had meant to inform the king that morning. Acting thus on his own authority the Prime Minister had greatly overstepped his limits and been guilty of a great offence. For this he was ordered to confinement in the Royal Prison and Im was released. But the Prime Minister's influence was not at an end yet, and Im had scarcely left the Palace before he was again seized by some of Kim Cha Chyem's fellow conspirators and hurried back to prison, being nearly beaten to death. Both Yi Si Paik and Ouen Tou P'yo, the Ministers of the Left and Right, knew of this, but fearing the power of Kim they refrained from telling the king. The Crown Prince (who was grateful for his release as a hostage) would have gone to his benefactor, but the king requested him to wait until the following day as Im was tired after his long journey, and it was right that he should be allowed a day of entire rest. Unfortunately Kim Cha Chyem had ordered Im to be beaten at intervals during the day, and the same night, about the third watch, Im died from the wounds received. This was the 26th day of the 9th moon of 1646.

Kim Cha Chyem immediately had the body removed to Im's Seoul residence, and a messenger was despatched to tell the king that Im had committed suicide. When his death became known there was genuine sorrow both at Court and throughout the country. Both the king and the Crown Prince sent some of their own clothing in which to shroud the body, and an edict was issued that he should be buried with Royal honours. The Board of Rites was also ordered to appoint a man to offer sacrifices daily at his tomb for a period of three years.

The king was yet in ignorance of the true cause of Im's death, accepting the statement of suicide. A few days after the funeral however the king was troubled by a dream, in which Im appeared before him and demanded vengeance. On telling this dream to Yi Si Paik the

following morning the latter informed the king as to the real cause of death and the Prime Minister's plots against the throne. This was quite a revelation to the king, and he immediately ordered Kim's arrest, who confessed under torture all that Yi Si Paik had already revealed. All of Kim's relatives, together with those of his wife and mother, were put to death, in accordance with the law for punishing rebels in force in Korea. Kim himself being the murderer of Im was handed over to the family of the latter for vengeance. The result of this can be imagined. He was taken bound before Im's spirit tablet and his crimes enumerated one by one, after which he was disembowelled and his body mutilated in the most savage manner possible. His bones were ground to powder and scattered to the four winds of Heaven. The history of Im is concluded by the suicide of his wife immediately on hearing of her husband's death. A memorial gate and temple were erected to her honour.

Thus closes the history of one of the most famous of Koreans. I have made allowance for Oriental imagination, and have avoided giving some of the details which have a strong suspicion of colouring. There yet remains sufficient to show us a strong, though reckless, character, in which there is much to admire.

I must add that a memorial temple is erected to Im and his wife on the island of Kang Hoa. Here his spear and sword are preserved, as well as a suit of clothing and his portrait.

• NOTE.—In speaking of the lack of affection existing between Korean parents and their children it will be remembered that I only speak of the upper classes, who are educated in the Chinese classics and look up to China as an infallible guide. Amongst the lower classes I have seen many instances of affection displayed equal to, if not superior to, those of the West. I have no doubt but that in the upper classes affection exists, but it is invariably stifled.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, June 27, 1898, a paper was read by C. W. Whish, Esq., I.C.S., on the "Necessity and Possibility of Reforms in the Police Administration of India," the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., in the chair. The following members among others were present: Sir R. K. Wilson, Bart., Sir George Parker, Sir John Tyler, Sir Raymond West, Lt.-Colonel A. T. Wintle, Major Tranchell, Mr. R. N. Cust, Mr. A. K. Connell, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. E. Creasy, Mr. T. J. Desai, Mr. Virchaud, R. Gandhi, Mr. John William Harris, Mr. Anthony Hunter, Mr. Ernest T. Lloyd, Mr. P. J. Mehta, Miss J. Meyer, Mr. Mulla, Mr. Nazar, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. B. B. Pant, Mrs. A. E. Whish, Mr. H. N. Shah, Mr. Sardnininji, Mrs. Eckford, Mlle. L. Jaquier, Mr. Hitz, Mr. R. B. Majumdar, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

For Mr. Whish's paper, see p. 262.

The CHAIRMAN read the following letter from Sir Lepel Griffin: "I have carefully read the paper, and it is one of those practical, suggestive kind which are of the most value, and which our Association should encourage. There is no doubt that our administration in India is heavily weighted by the unpopularity attaching to the police, who are rapacious and corrupt, and it would be a great blessing if reforms were made in the line suggested by Mr. Whish—increasing pay so as to diminish temptation and discouraging police intervention in the petty cases which could much better be disposed of by the village elders, without any interference of magistrates or police at all. I thoroughly sympathize with this paper."

SIR RAYMOND WEST complimented the reader of the paper on the extremely impartial view he had taken of the matter, and on his desire to elicit discussion. There were, however, a number of observations in the paper with which he felt it difficult to agree. The general character of the police in India, he thought, was pretty much the general character of the people, and unless the general character of the people could be elevated the character of the police would not rise to a very high standard either of efficiency or morality. Certain intellectual gifts and a moral sense of responsibility were indispensable. There must be intelligence in the Government, and with it there must be an effective co-ordination and organization. Two observations in the paper called for some remarks, one was as to the necessity for the reduction of the areas. In the part of India with which he was acquainted the areas under police government were regulated by the apparent necessities of the population, and if they were made larger the station officer would be placed at a greater distance from those who required his aid, and the people would be less inclined to make complaints. It was said that the police officers were obliged to pay blackmail to certain persons. That, he thought, would indicate imbecility at headquarters. It could not be said to be the case in the Bombay

Presidency; whether it was so in Madras and Bengal he did not know. There was a gentleman present, Mr. Rogers, who had had to do with the police for many years, who would no doubt bear him out in saying that such blackmailing as was denounced in the paper was absolutely impossible in the Bombay Presidency, and if it could be prevented there, it could, by proper arrangements, be prevented elsewhere. With reference to co-ordination, he thought co-ordination amongst the officers of different portions of a district, and amongst the officers at the head of different districts, was far more necessary now than before. When he was in charge of the Judicial and Police Department of the Government of Bombay, he endeavoured to make the co-ordination of the police and the mutual working of one district with another more effective than it formerly was. That was a point of the greatest possible importance, because the police, who had to keep the irregular and criminal classes in order, should be placed in a position to work together at least as efficiently as was the case with the criminal classes themselves. It had been said that the investigation of petty cases was made a means of oppression of the people. He would draw attention to the fact that the police had no right to interfere in petty cases without an order from the magistrate. What was wanted was that the magistrate should exercise a proper supervision. It was not so much a police as a magisterial matter. No doubt the basis of improvement in India must be sought rather in a readjustment of magisterial areas and functions than in mechanical improvements of the police. It was sometimes difficult to find a magistrate. The investigation of offences by magistrates ought to be at fixed centres, where people knew that they would find a magistrate on particular days of the week, and where their cases would be investigated with care. They had only to refer to paragraph 15 of the paper to see that prevention could be effectively carried out without oppression in India. As to taking security from unconvicted persons for good behaviour, he asked so long as they had a police as corrupt as they were described to be, what would be the result? Any man who could give security for good behaviour would every now and again receive a visit from a hungry policeman whom he would have to feed. It would require extreme caution. He had had opportunities of seeing how police surveillance worked under the French system in Egypt, and the conclusion he had arrived at was that it was sometimes made an instrument of oppression there. He entirely concurred in the remark that statistical tests were overdone in India. They were, however, required to enable the department to know what its subordinates were doing. The great evil was that these statistical reports were paraded in the face of the public and commented upon by Government as conclusive, and there could be no greater mistake than to suppose that when they had a row of figures they had solved all the problems of the universe. The police should be kept in strict subordination to the courts of justice. The remedy for the evils complained of was to give greater power to the judicial element in local government, which had not had the weight it deserved. No doubt the subordinate judges as a rule had the confidence of the people, and there was no reason why the subordinate magistrates should not equally command that confidence. The whole

administration of the magisterial and judicial system in the criminal department needed the invigorating influence of a strong representation at the centre and heart of each local government. The organization of two classes of people, the village police and the disciplined police, had been referred to. In many parts of India there was an old existing native system of village police, which had never been thoroughly combined with the disciplined police. He had not stayed long enough in India to effect that combination, but it was one which should be carried out, because the village police were acquainted with the habits and character of the people, and could give more information than the discipline police on such a subject. He thought that a system of Watch Committees in the large towns of India would be a great reform.

MAJOR TRANCHELL (late Superintendent of Police, Ceylon) described the system in Ceylon, which he said was very much the same system as that which the author of the paper had depicted. Taking them all in all, they had found that the police in Ceylon did a very fair amount of good service with regard to the criminal population in Ceylon, which was particularly active and very cunning. There was, no doubt, blackmailing in some instances, but he had always found that where a charge of blackmailing was brought up, it was because the man had done his duty well.

Mr. CREASY (late Superintendent of Police, Ceylon) thought the co-operation of village police and regular police was an object which should be aimed at.

Mr. ROGERS concurred generally with what Sir Raymond West had said. The state of things that was described in the paper was inconceivable, at all events to a Bombay man. It did not exist there. There was no blackmailing in Bombay. He did not know what might be the case in the North-Western Provinces. In Bombay the police did know the people, but it appeared from the paper that the police in the Panjáb did not know the people. The Bombay system was this: the police charges were co-ordinate with the revenue charges. The Collector of a district was also the Magistrate of the district, and he had under him invariably a police superintendent. If it were a large district, the superintendent had one or two assistants under him. As to the regular police inquiring into small cases, that was not the case in Bombay. It was the business of the village police to report the cases to the district officers. It was the business of the Superintendent of Police to keep the Magistrate of the district informed of what was taking place, and it was the business of the Magistrate to see that he and the other police did their duty. If any serious crime were reported, the police superintendent himself would investigate it on the spot. A complaint was made in the paper of the size of the charges, but there was nothing of that sort in Bombay, each Taluka having its own Chief Constable and staff.

Mr. ERNEST T. LLOYD (late of the Bengal Civil Service) wished to speak as a witness to the good character of the North-West police. He had been in the North-West Civil Service as a Magistrate, and he did not think the police were as bad as they had been represented. He agreed with Mr. Whish as to the abolition of statistical tests. As to the enlargement

of the area of administration, that was a thing which could not be discussed. It must depend very much upon the geographical condition of the country as to railways, and so on. He thought too much had been made with respect to the fear which the people may have for the police. Much of his time had been taken up in investigating charges against the police, which he did not think would have been brought by a terrified population. He entirely agreed with Sir Raymond West that until the villagers had more common-sense and more pluck the police would to a certain extent have the advantage if they wished to get their food without paying for it, but he did not think the people were so down-trodden by the police as had been represented. They must all agree that detection must be subordinated to the prevention of crime. The question was how to do it. It was a difficult subject. In his view the fault was with the Europeans, and not with the Natives. He thought a great mistake had been made in the North-West by making such very young men district superintendents of police. The great mistake, in India with regard to serious crime was, he thought, the want of co-operation between different districts.

Mr. R. N. CUST wished to speak for the Punjab and North-West Provinces, in both of which he had had districts. He knew nothing of the state of things which Mr. Whish had discovered. The manly population of the Punjab, who were chiefly soldiers, would not stand any nonsense on the part of the police, and in the North-West Provinces the thing was impossible. He did not recognise the India described by Mr. Whish. They lived among the people and spoke the language, and ruled them, as John Lawrence had said, with the iron hand and the velvet glove. There might be exceptional cases of blackmailing, but it did not exist in the North-West, and in the Punjab it could not exist.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD thought the subject was one peculiarly suited for the association to follow up. They had the advantage of Mr. Whish's direct personal experience, and notwithstanding what others had said, they must accept his statement. The subject was of immense importance. A policeman was the last link in their Imperial dominion, and if that link were faulty it was a very serious matter. Many accounts showed that those links were very seriously defective. That might apply to a bygone time, but he was inclined to accept what Mr. Whish had said—that a good deal survived in some parts of India. It had been shown by Mr. Rogers, and by Sir Raymond West, that these evils were remediable, and why were they not remedied? He thought it would be well not merely that the paper should have been read, but that a committee should follow the matter up. One gentleman had referred to the Deputy Superintendents of Police. Had there not been a system introduced of providing European police officers by special examinations, to which the Natives of India were not admitted? What became of the legitimate promotion of the Indian police officers themselves?

Mr. A. K. CONNELL said he had had no special police experience, but what struck him was the remark of Sir Raymond West's that the police could not be above the character of the people. People in England did

not stand anything from the police. Why did not the people in the North-West stand up to them? He thought it was a most serious thing in India that the manhood of the people in some parts was undermined. The police system seemed to be too strict. Why not let the people have their village rows, which were only like football matches in England? One matter which struck him was that in the North-West the police were more centralized than in other parts of India. He had heard the district officers complain of that. In the North-West the police system was rather on special lines. The head policeman was rather too much of a department by himself. If so, it was in the North-West reform was wanted. Egypt had been mentioned. He understood that the rule of the Egyptian administration was to select very few but very good men for executive work, and subordinate posts were held by natives.

Mr. MULLA said that his views harmonized more with some of the views expressed by the reader of the paper than those of several gentlemen who had had the honour of being Commissioners of Police in India. He did not speak from experience, but he expressed the views of the masses in Bombay. It was one thing for Commissioners of Police to be in touch with the police, and another for them to be in touch with the people. In Bombay there was nothing like the manufacture of crime, but he was afraid the feeling was prevalent that there was something like corruption. How were they to get rid of the system of corruption? They must first elevate the people. He thought the subordinates ought to be selected from persons who had received a certain amount of training. They were ignorant and they were not well paid. As to the extension of the area, he fully agreed with Sir Raymond West that it was not practicable. The people must be in close touch with the leaders of the police. He thought it impossible altogether to abolish statistical tests, but no doubt too great importance had been attached to them.

KUMAR U. V. RAGHABANSI, who came from the North-West Provinces, thought Mr. Whish had taken rather too moderate a view of the police. From personal experience he could say that he heartily concurred in all the remarks which Mr. Whish had made. He had himself witnessed the corruption and manufacture of crime by the police, which had been referred to. Those things were done without the knowledge of their superiors, who did their best to stop such things, but it was rather difficult for them to do so 30 or 40 miles away.

The CHAIRMAN said Lord Beaconsfield had observed that he was on the side of the angels, and not on the side of the apes. Two theories had been placed before them, that the police were angels and that they were apes. He did not believe in either. Whenever they discussed an administrative problem, especially one relating to India, they must be extremely careful not to generalize. Every service had a great variety of men, some more competent than others. An observation made by Sir Raymond West had, he was afraid, given rise to some misinterpretation. Sir Raymond West had said that the police had the same character as the people from whom they were taken. That no doubt was true, but it might be taken both ways. A deduction might be drawn from the premises that the

people are corrupt, and that therefore the police are corrupt, and it might be drawn the other way—that the people as a rule are not corrupt, and therefore the police cannot be corrupt, unless they become so by the vicious system under which they serve. They must take care not to generalize, and especially not to adopt a statement to the effect that the police must be corrupt until the people rise in rebellion. Why in London was there such absolute respect for the police? It was on account of the exemplary conduct of the police, and because they were carefully selected. There was nothing as to which Englishmen had more right to be proud than their police. He fully accepted the proposition that it was the duty of the Government to take care that the police in India should be so well paid and so well selected that all temptation to become corrupt should as far as possible be eliminated. They had attempted to do that in Bombay. He had himself abandoned the patronage which his predecessors had exercised with regard to the police, and he had determined to appoint only those who had been examined and passed a test. That system had been adopted by the India Office. He entirely agreed with the suggestion which appeared in the paper that for the higher ranks of the native police you should as much as possible get men belonging to the best families in India. There was still great respect in India for the aristocracy and for the landed gentry, and for the higher ranks. If they could obtain such men they would undoubtedly do a great deal to prevent abuses. Sir Raymond West had alluded to the co-ordination of the police. Sir Raymond West had carried through the Bombay Legislative Council a Bill for the reform of the police, which entitled him to speak with authority, and which he commended to Mr. Whish when he read another paper on the subject, and in that Bill the question of co-ordination of the police was considered of very great importance. Another observation made by Sir Raymond West, which he would like to support, was that there was a tendency at present in India to take too little account of the judicial side of administration, and the best men went to the Revenue side. He thought means should be adopted to enhance the status of the judicial side in order to attract the very best men. Mr. Mulla had said it was of great importance that those officials, who in the first instance undertook prosecutions, should be of a higher grade. In every district there was a Government Prosecutor, and it occurred to him whether you could not give to that official a greater control of the police in the first stages of the investigation of crime. The combination of village police and district police was an exceedingly difficult question, which had been carefully gone into in Bombay, and if it could be secured it would be a great improvement. Sir Raymond West had also suggested that the investigation of petty cases should be taken as much as possible at fixed centres and on fixed days. That was a reform which could easily be carried out. Mr. Whish had pointed out that inspections were overdone. That was an evil which existed in this country. He feared that the number of people employed in collecting and arranging statistics must be very much on the increase everywhere. The subject under consideration was so important that it was hardly possible to do justice to it. It was a subject which, as Mr. Martin Wood had suggested a committee of the association might very well take up.

Mr. WHISH desired to confine himself to what appeared the most important points arising out of the discussion. First, was his description of the state of things in the North-West exaggerated or not? There had been no evidence to show that it was. If his description were considered as applying permanently, it might no doubt justly be characterized as exaggerated. He did not say that these things always existed. It had been said that it was inadvisable for a person knowing only one portion of India to speak about the whole of it. He quite agreed with that observation. He believed that these burning questions existed far more in the North-West than elsewhere, where unfortunately public opinion was peculiarly weak and voiceless. In Bengal it was different. The same state of things existed to a lesser extent perhaps in Madras, which he believed it was a misnomer to call the benighted Presidency. Sir Raymond West had referred to his proposal to reduce the area of independent jurisdiction. He did not mean to enlarge the stations. He would leave things exactly as they were. He would simply make the officer, who at the present time was only an inspecting officer, a responsible officer. What had been said about blackmailing was perfectly true. The real sufferers never desired to bring a charge. It was only the bad characters who brought the charge, but it did not follow that blackmail was not taken because the charges were false. He might say, without exaggeration, that out of 100 charges of blackmail 99 would be absolutely false, but one true charge got swamped. He quite agreed with Mr. Martin Wood as to the great importance of promoting the rank and file to the position of officers, which he thought would be a very good thing. He thought the chairman's suggestion that the Government Prosecutor should watch these false cases was a good one.

A vote of thanks to Lord Reay for taking the chair and to Mr. Whish for his paper was unanimously passed, and the proceedings then terminated.

A meeting of the East India Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall, on Monday, July 18th, 1898, when a paper was read by Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart., on "Should the Personal Laws of the Natives of India be codified?" Sir Raymond West, K.C.L.E., in the chair. The following among others were present: Sir William Rattigan, Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wintle, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., Rev. A. G. B. Atkinson, Dr. W. K. Bisschop, Mr. Virchand R. Ghandie, Mr. Robert H. Headley, Mr. John Macdonell, Mr. P. J. Mehta, Miss W. Arathoon, Mr. K. B. Divatia, Mrs. Donald, Mr. Raghubar Dayal, Mr. F. W. Neill, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Kumar U. V. Raghabansi, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mr. Harichund N. Shah, Miss Webster, Mr. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, having introduced Sir Roland Wilson, the paper was read. (See p. 225.)

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN was extremely grateful for the very interesting paper which had been read on a subject of the very greatest importance to lawyers in all parts of the world. Upon the general question of the feasibility of codification there was great diversity of opinion. Personally he advocated it. He had seen the disadvantages of the present system.

Case-law had not produced certainty in the administration of the law, which was what the native population desired. He was convinced that very great advantages would arise from codification. It had already been tried with great advantage in many departments of the law. In India they had procedure codes and a penal code which had worked with considerable advantage. No doubt the great objection which at one time was felt in England against codification had to a very great extent been modified. In all parts of the world some were now strongly advocating that the time had arrived when the common law of England and the common law of America should be codified. An extremely interesting book had recently been published by an American lawyer (Mr. Lloyd Clark) on the subject of scientific law and the way of making laws. That gentleman advocated codification wherever it was unnecessary to base codification on any ethical principles. Where ethical principles were not the primary object but certainty was, he would advocate codification. In the case of other branches of the law which most depended upon broad ethical principles, Mr. Clark thought it should be left to case law to develop those principles. It might be said, however, that it was difficult to conceive any principles of law not more or less based on some ethical basis, whether in regard to the law of inheritance or commercial law, or any other law. Although the author to whom he had referred brought a very large amount of industry and ingenuity to work out his principles, there seemed to be much fallacy lurking throughout his book. He merely mentioned Mr. Clark's book in order that they should not be misguided in considering the difficulties of so large a subject. He thought those who favoured codification would readily agree with the learned lecturer that if they resorted to legislation in India apart from general law, it ought, at all events, to be confined to those family rights which might be considered quite apart from religion. At the same time it was very difficult, as, for instance, in the case of adoption, to divorce religion from any interpretation of what the Hindu laws really did sanction. The same might be said with regard to the alienation of property, where the inchoate rights of sons were considered to come into play. It was nevertheless, he thought, a safe principle to lay down that in codifying the Indian laws attention should be confined to those laws which might be considered quite apart from religion. There was one matter with regard to which he could not entirely concur in the view which the learned lecturer had put forward. The suggestion he understood was, that a broad system of codification should be resorted to, that a draft should be prepared dealing with subjects of inheritance, marriage, and the like, and then that each class of the community should have the option of declaring whether it would or would not adopt the principles of that law.

SIR ROLAND WILSON explained that what he proposed was that the draft code as originally published should be strictly expository.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN inquired whether the proposal was that there should be one enactment embracing all natives.

SIR ROLAND WILSON replied that that was certainly not his proposition, which was that in the first place a general code of personal law for all persons not specially exempted should be completed, that the list or classi-

fication of persons exempted should be put on a very different footing to the present so as to be independent of any profession of religious belief, that the different communities for which it was worth while to provide a personal law should be taken one by one, selecting first the most advanced, publishing a statement of what was understood to be the law administered by the Courts on the points of marriage and succession, then endeavouring to get them to call meetings and discuss the matter under the presidency of a Commissioner, and the net result to be reported to the Select Committee of the Legislative Department, and action or no action taken according to the result.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN understood the scheme to be really provincial. That, he thought, was feasible. It would be extremely difficult to put into one enactment appertaining to all India rules which would be accepted by the various communities. He would refer to a scheme which as a member of the Punjab Legislative Council he had asked permission to introduce in the Punjab, that was to codify the native usages of the Punjab with reference to property rights. There it was feasible because they had had many years of settled rule, and customs had been investigated by settlement officers, and formed the subject of judicial decisions which themselves amounted to so very many volumes that it was almost impossible to cope with them. Therefore it seemed the time had arrived in the Punjab when the customary law might be reduced into some practicable shape. The native needed not only simplicity but certainty, and he did not think that certainty could be had under any system of law which entirely depended on judicial law. Simplicity and certainty could, he thought, only be obtained in India by the codification which had been so ably advocated.

Mr. GHANDIE thought there were many difficulties in the way of codification. An illustration had been given of the codification of some of the personal laws of the Parsee community. They were generally considered more advanced than other classes,—that is, in matters of art and commerce—but as to matters of religion they were very indifferent, and that was why they had been able to have their laws codified. The proposal was to have an Anglo-Hindu and Anglo-Muhammadian law. It would be very difficult to Anglicize the Muhammadian people. The first thing would be to educate them in the English language. They did not care for politics, and it would therefore be very difficult to deal with the manners and customs of the natives with reference to codification. It had been suggested that some of the family customs and rights should be codified so far as they had not to do with religion. That also would be a difficult task. The native people would not relish the idea of quoting the statute instead of the Shastras or the Koran. That was a sentimental difficulty, but sentiment played a very important part in India. He was quite sure that the Hindus would agree with the opinion expressed by the learned lecturer, that there should be some sort of codification in order that there should be certainty and clearness.

Mr. THORNTON sympathized with the remarks that had been made in favour of codification, which had proved, so far as it had been carried, to

be one of the greatest blessings we had conferred on India. In his experience as a judicial officer he knew that both the Muhammadan and Hindu law of marriage and inheritance as derived from their sacred books clashed with the present feelings of the people, and had been more or less superseded by custom; and he feared the High Court of Bengal had unintentionally done a great deal of injustice by administering undiluted "Mitacshara" amongst a population that had long ago modified or rejected it. He agreed that codification must not be too vast in extent, and that it would be better to attempt Province by Province. On the other hand, it must not be on too small a scale—as, for instance, for each village. He thought the most effective step would be for someone to draft a specimen code. They would then be in a better position to judge how far it was practicable.

Mr. MARTIN WOOD sympathized with the remarks made with regard to case-law being equal to confusion and statute law to certainty. He had seen the effect of the different procedure codes that had been carried through in his time, and he had seen the process going on of English barristers following case-law as closely as they could and gradually whittling away statutory codes. He was glad to hear Sir William Rattigan express a strong feeling in the other direction. He wished to express high appreciation of the enormous scope and ability displayed by the reader of the paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that the subject was one in which he had been for many years interested. It was a field in which he had laboured. The passage which had been read by Sir Roland Wilson which was written by himself expressed a view which he still entertained upon the subject of possibly freeing a large class of the natives of India from certain embarrassing restrictions which their religious system had thrown around them, so far as it was possible to do so without casting off the religion itself. He believed that was quite possible. The statutory law in India had gradually encroached on the law of the Mitacshara and the Koran and of the recognised interpreters of the Muhammadan law. It had inevitably done so, because as society advanced new wants came into view and new exigencies arose,—for instance, the construction of railways, formation of joint stock companies, and other things. The legislature must follow the expansion of society, and, as Sir William Rattigan had indicated, there must be in all laws an ethical basis. He had long regarded the proper way of looking at all legislation which was fitted to a community as an emanation from the *ethos* of the community. It was internal strongly-felt ethical convictions which burst out at different points and in such a practical way that a definite rule must be laid down. He believed that was the proper basis, and it was on that basis that he went in the Naikin case. It might be worth while for him to state the principles on which he there went. The first point was that in the Mofussil of Bombay the first rule laid down after the statutes and regulations was the custom of the country. Again, in Madras and Bombay the legislature had said that cases between natives were to be disposed of as they would have been disposed of by a native Court, and with regard to that he had said that where there was a

custom there might be a custom to amend a custom. The custom of the people might be such that they would themselves recognise from time to time improvements necessary to fit the law to their advanced social condition, and it was the business of a Court which administered custom to take cognizance of changes of that kind. He believed that that principle met with the almost universal approval of the native community, who did not want, because the nefarious system of legalized prostitution had been established among them, to be for ever tied with the fetters of such an institution. He believed that if the Courts of India were a little more liberal in their interpretation of custom, a great deal might have been done in expanding the whole native system of law. Unfortunately their lawyers carried with them from England two or three cut-and-dried formulas, such as that custom must be invariable and ancient. Every custom had an origin at some time. Codification, he thought, would be extremely desirable if they could find practical means of doing it. He had on two occasions endeavoured to get something done, but it was considered that the matter would have involved so much dispute that under existing circumstances it was not desirable to push it forward. More recently he had advocated another line of development, which he still thought capable of being worked out. He had written a series of papers under the name of "Historicus," treating of the development of credit in India, especially on lines suggested by the local banks, which had been worked with such immense success in Germany and Northern Italy. He pointed out that the development of Indian society must be mainly on two lines, the line of physical science and the line of economical development. The uncertainty of the family laws of the Hindu was a continual impediment to progress. He had proposed in one paper that it should be competent for any Hindu to take up a status which would bring him, for all economical purposes, for trading and holding property, under the general law. He pointed out that in the working out of the land banks it had been largely their policy to refuse to have dealings with any property held by a joint family or in which there were joint rights. That indicated to him that the Hindu family system must be a considerable embarrassment to their progress in an economical sphere. He thought a general law might be devised which should be of very great benefit; not a separate law for each community. The result would be that there would be a great variety of laws, and that would not be any improvement on the existing state of affairs. He thought they had better remain as they were than get into such a complication. He thought it would be feasible to have a committee of able native gentlemen representing the different provinces of India authorized to investigate and report on some particular branch of the law, and that should be subjected to criticism. Alongside with that the endeavour should be strenuously made to complete the general code to which Sir Roland Wilson had referred, to make it as complete as possible. These schemes would occupy some years, but if due care were taken not to be fettered too much by purely Brahminical rules, such a scheme might be found to be one which would be accepted for all India, and in that way the people of India might obtain one of the greatest political advantages

which it was possible to confer upon them. If they had a uniform law on any one subject, they had one point of universal sympathy amongst the people. He would be somewhat chary therefore of passing many local laws. He would get as much law as possible to be upon a purely rational basis, so that the people found out that it was for their own interests gradually to accept the operation of that law. He at one time took great interest in the local laws, in the Bombay Presidency, of the castes. A great many of those caste rules had ceased to operate through the uniform operation of the system of Hindu law administered by the Courts, which secured to the people a fair amount of certainty in the administration of the law, which they were better able to make themselves acquainted with than they could possibly do with the mass of 200 or 300 castes. Wherever they found differences they found an obstacle to intercourse and to progress in mercantile development. He thought they should be chary in taking up the line of provincial legislation on these important subjects until they were well satisfied that in the economical sphere they could not do all that was required on the method he suggested, and that they could not find some universal laws which would admit of codification and be acceptable to the people at large. He trusted the subject would now receive the amount of discussion it deserved both from the natives of India and the natives of England.

SIR ROLAND WILSON was very glad to find that Sir William Rattigan was substantially on his side in a general advocacy of codification. It had been said that codification should be confined to rights unconnected with religion. In one sense that was impossible; but in another sense their law at present was unconnected with religion,—that was to say, the Hindoo and Muhammadan law which they professed to administer related only to matters which came before the Civil Court. He believed that a system of codification would emphasize more clearly than before that, although persons who were asked to accept the code would look at the matter from the religious point of view, that was not a question for the British Government, which merely said, if you want to marry two wives or your property to be divided in a particular way, we go with you up to a certain point and no further. He had not suggested the division into provinces. Except in the Punjaub, it did not seem to him that the subject naturally divided itself provincially, but according to sect and school. Therefore what seemed to him desirable was to get in the first place a general code for all who were dissatisfied with existing institutions, and to have, if necessary, a large number of separate codes for separate divisions of the Hindu and Muhammadan population, and in the Hindu law he would almost say for every caste, which he did not think so formidable because they were only practically discussing marriage and succession law. The two Parsi Acts which were passed, and the Khoja Succession Act which had been drafted but not passed, covered very little ground; they were expressed in very few sections, and might be expressed in fewer still if they had a general code to refer to. If there were a great many of these codes merely as appendixes to the general code, it would not very much enlarge the size of the book or the difficulties of the judge, nor would it interfere

with the different transactions of which Sir Raymond West had spoken. He quite agreed with Mr. Ghandie that the Parsi were in an exceptional case. The Act very likely would not have been passed if the advocates of it had not been able to say to their British colleagues, This law differs so very slightly from the general ideas of Western people that you cannot have any scruples about it. He agreed there would be scruples on the British side in, for instance, giving the same sort of sanction to the polygamous laws. The ignorance of the people had been mentioned as an objection to the code, but that was equally an objection to all law. He did not agree with Mr. Martin Wood that case-law was a thing to be put aside, but he agreed with him that they ought constantly to follow up the case-law by legislation condensing its results. Referring to the remarks made by Sir Raymond West, he was very glad to hear that he did accomplish an important social reform in Bombay, and did discourage an abominable institution ; but at the same time he held rather with the Madras judges, that if it were understood that judges in general were empowered to administer a changeable custom and to be the exponents of the changes of native opinion, a very great strain would be put on the judges and on public confidence. He was therefore very glad to find that Sir Raymond West thought that codification was now the only way of effectively dealing with native usages. He was glad to hear also that Sir Raymond West had anticipated him in the proposal to have a general law, and to make it as easy as possible to take up that general law. He would be sorry to see any great delay before at least one of these separate codes was placed before the native public, and before steps were taken to encourage them to discuss it if possible under the presidency of someone representing the Government.

A vote of thanks to Sir Roland Wilson for his interesting paper was carried unanimously, as was also a vote of thanks to the chairman.

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES AND NEWS.

LAND TRANSFERS IN THE PUNJAB.

I think I ought to make some reply to Mr. Thornton's note on *Punjab Tribal Law* in the April number of this Review.

There are two questions upon which Mr. Thornton and I are not agreed ; viz. : (1) The desirability of certain legislation to restrict transfers of agricultural land in the Punjab, and (2) The value of the so-called Codes of Tribal Custom prepared at Settlement.

As to the first question, Mr. Thornton refers to investigations and figures of the years 1873 to 1877—more than 20 years ago. I do not contest either his figures or his conclusions with reference to the time to which they relate. If 20 years ago there had been any cause for serious anxiety on account of the transfers of agricultural land to money-lenders in the Punjab, I am sure the facts would not have escaped the notice of the very able men—Mr. Thornton himself included—who then controlled Punjab affairs ; and I am sure, too, that they would have devised some appropriate cure for the mischief. But times have altered. The alienations of the type under consideration are now a growing evil which we cannot afford to pass by. Ten years later than the time mentioned by Mr. Thornton it was shown that there had been a large and steady increase in alienation ; and it appears that during the last 25 years land paying more than 10 per cent. of the total land revenue has been sold ; and in 1893 nearly 15 per cent. of the total cultivated area of the Province was under usufructuary mortgage in addition to a possibly equal area simply hypothecated. If particular districts are taken the results are more grave. Thus I could name one where in three *Tahsils*, a third, a fourth and a fifth of the total area changed hands in 30 years ; and another where land paying 15 per cent. of the land revenue has been sold during the last 22 years.

It is not exactly that a serious change has come over the Punjab since Mr. Thornton was the Punjab Secretary. It is that there are many changes of varying importance operating in more than one direction with cumulative effect. The truth is that tendencies already in operation 20 years ago have now a wider and widening range and a stronger and increasing impetus. Half a century ago British law and order and a civilized system centuries in advance of primitive agricultural tribes put an end to the chronic private warfare, wholesale unscrupulous annexations, general disregard of private claims and grinding fiscal exactions of Sikh and previous times. In our day the battle is no longer to the strong ; and of that change the British Court of Justice is the symbol. We keep the peace, which in itself gives educational odds against arbitrary prowess ; we assume on a legal theory, contrary to glaring facts, that all men should be deemed equal before the law ; we promote the accumulation of capital, which must seek investment ; we stimulate the sense of individual right by dealing with individuals rather than with tribes and villages ; by

limiting the land revenue demand we add vastly to the value of the property of the uneducated classes ; and by all the above means we give the astute and the ignorant classes an opportunity of carrying on a fight for property in land in which every victory of the astute classes is a part of a political danger to ourselves. I am glad that Mr. Thornton freely acknowledges the political importance of not permitting "the too rapid or wholesale dispossession from their hereditary lands of the old proprietary tribes of the Panjab." But his arguments for inaction appear to me to be economic arguments based on the state of life case 20 years ago. I may claim to be fairly well acquainted with the present aspects of the problem ; and to me it seems that under British rule in the Punjab the contest for the possession of agricultural land between the moneyed men and the cultivating proprietors, between the astute classes and the uneducated classes, is quite inevitable ; that in this contest the *samindar* is heavily handicapped by the conditions of our system ; and that it is our political interest to lighten the handicap on the *samindar*. I advocate protection for the *samindar* not specially on economic grounds or on grounds of compassion, though it is a pity to see non-agricultural middlemen intercepting the profits of husbandry, and men of fine races brought to ruin ; but, emphatically, because if we do not give the *samindar* protection, we shall be storing up forces to explode against ourselves should the match be applied by our difficulties. I do not suppose there is any part of India where the old aphorism—*so many ruined fortunes, so many notes for troubles*—is more true than it is of the Punjab. And we must take the growing evil in time, before it is so late that we should have to face the question of restitution.

Coming now to the second question, I would point out that I do not rely upon any mere theory of Punjab Tribal Law which may be superseded by some other theory a few years hence. I rely on the law as actually declared in the rulings of the Chief Court. These rulings *are* the law till they are set aside by other rulings or by the legislature ; and they declare "that where the land which the holder for the time being seeks to alienate is found to have come to him from his ancestors, as his share of the land held by them as members of a village community, the initial presumption is that he has not an unrestricted power of alienation."

As to the value of the Tribal Codes—in certain questions to which they relate, custom is by law the primary rule of decision. The codes supply evidence, collected *ante litem motam*, of what the custom is in particular localities amongst particular tribes. They are thus of great assistance to the Courts in coming to their decisions upon most points, on which there is doubtless much loose statement and hard swearing when once the dispute has begun. The difficulties and disadvantages which attend the present system of administering the law relating to the succession to and alienation of agricultural land in the Punjab can only be removed by legislation. But in my opinion legislation of the type required could never be safely undertaken in such a Province as the Punjab, unless it had been preceded by such inquiries as those which have the Tribal Codes for their result.

These are general observations which, I hope, show that there are at least two sides to the interesting questions upon which Mr. Thornton has touched. My own specific proposals are of little consequence. They are only one batch of suggestions amongst many. I do not want to take up your space with technical matters of little general interest, and my proposals could not be properly explained without a good deal of technical detail. I will only say briefly that, as it is, transfers of land have to be recorded under the orders of a revenue official, by what is known as the mutation of names or *dakhil kharij* procedure: and my idea was to adopt and expand this procedure and to improve and utilize the existing law of pre-emption. In parts of the Province, such as portions of the Peshawur Division and of the Delhi territory, where the agriculturists hold their own, I would leave transfers as free as at present, only taking power to intervene should necessity arise. In other places, according to the degree of the necessity, I would restrict transfer, but never prohibit it absolutely. In particular, when it was intended to allow a transfer, I would offer the land first to the heirs and pre-emptors. If they declined it, then it would be their own fault if it passed into the hands of the money-lenders. This is what I meant by saying that the people themselves might detribalise their lands if they wished to do so. I should add that I am as fully convinced as Mr. Thornton is, of the necessity of the village Banker and of the impolicy of unduly restricting the credit of the peasant proprietors. I would freely allow Mortgages with possession for not more than 20 years, the profits of the land during that term to extinguish the debt with interest, and the land on expiry of the term to revert unencumbered to the Mortgagor.

C. L. TUPPER.

Murree, June 8, 1898.

MR. WHISH ON REFORMS IN THE POLICE ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

SIR,

Anyone reading Mr. Whish's paper* on the subject will, I trust, see at once that although it speaks of the Police of India, it really refers only to a small portion of the Panjáb with which Mr. Whish is personally acquainted. Having myself been Police Commissioner of the (old) Northern Division of Bombay for a good many years, I must utterly repudiate for that Presidency the existence of a state of affairs such as he describes to be the case in the Panjáb. If it exists there, it is an absolute disgrace to the administration of the Province, and calls for the serious attention of the higher authorities. Let us see what his charges are. The whole of India, according to Mr. Whish, is parcelled out into small areas, called police circles, to the charge of (each of) which is appointed a "Darogha." This officer often connives at the ruthless harrying of adjoining circles by the criminal classes on condition that they abstain from committing offences within his own jurisdiction. It is not difficult to imagine how a clever and unscrupulous officer can set up a galling tyranny

* See pp. 262-272.

which practically overrides and supersedes the law. The evil would not be so great were it not for the artificial creation of crime for which the system of statistical tests of crimes detected and punished or the contrary is responsible. He has to keep up an appearance of respectability and a number of irresistible calls upon his purse to answer, of which no official account is taken. He has to pay blackmail to at least five different individuals, (1) his immediate superior or circle Inspector; (2) the Rescue (? Reserve) Inspector or officer left in charge of the headquarters of the district when the European Superintendent is out on tour; (3) the subordinates of the said Superintendent; (4 and 5) probably his menial servants also, as well as those of the Deputy Inspector General and Inspector General of the Province. In most cases his payments do not end here; in the majority of districts the circle officer (the said Darogha) will have to contribute to a secret fund, from which the irregular expenses connected with the system have to be met. If he refuses to pay this blackmail, he will find the whole irresistible force of a corrupt service leagued against him, and he will be soon hounded out on a false charge, which will leave a stain on his good name for ever.

Mr. Whish asks his readers to "imagine what would be said in London if a respectable householder whose house had (say) been entered by a burglar were obliged to entertain an Inspector of Police and several constables for perhaps a week or a fortnight while they were holding a so-called inquiry into his case, during the course of which the ladies of his family might be subjected to considerable indignity, and he himself compelled to leave his daily avocations in order to avail himself of what the Indian Police call (with an irony which would be ludicrous if it did not speak of so much oppression) 'permission to be present.' This expression, I must explain, is more generally understood as a euphemism for illegal arrest and detention. And yet I can assure my hearers that this is what goes on daily in India."

If this at all represents the true state of affairs, what were the higher Police Officers, what was Mr. Whish himself, what were the Magisterial authorities doing to permit it to continue?

I maintain that in Bombay it does not exist, and also that it could not exist, if the Superintendents of Police and the Magistrates did their duty, as I believe fully they do, in other parts of India. It is not the business of the stipendiary Police in India, any more than it is in London, to get up cases in either small or great offences except upon complaints made to them personally, or on the reports which are immediately made by the village Police, who are at the bottom of the Police system. The idea that a subordinate officer like a "Darogha" could connive at the harrying of circles adjoining his own by the criminal classes on any conditions (to let alone the infamous one suggested) without the Superintendent and the Magistrates becoming at once aware of it, is simply inconceivable. Even when the Superintendent is on tour, does he cut himself off from communication by post that an Inspector at headquarters should be able to force Daroghas to pay blackmail?

Finally, are the inhabitants of the Panjáb so little able to stand up for

the ordinary rights of citizens, as Mr. Whish's paper makes them out to be, to sit quietly under a Police system which could only have been equalled in a very badly ruled Native State?

Yours faithfully,

26th July, 1898.

A. ROGERS.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA.

SIR,

As the abolition of the "legal status" of slavery in Zanzibar and Pemba has created considerable interest, during the past twelve months, will you permit me to make a few observations? It will be remembered that Lord Salisbury's Government has been blamed with respect to the Decree issued by the Sultan, and to carrying the provisions of that Decree into execution, and in consequence, a special inquiry was instituted, to ascertain whether the charges, by the "Friends' Mission," the "Anti-Slavery Society," and some of the Representatives of the "Church Missionary Society," were well founded. The result has been, that misrepresentations have been made, and the difficulties, in carrying out the Decree, have been, through ignorance probably, ignored. The Despatches just laid on the Table of the House of Commons* indicate clearly the present position of affairs. Lord Salisbury, in his despatch, dated 29 June, to Sir A. Hardinge, disposes of those charges in a few words. He says: "The evidence which has been furnished in disproof of the charges brought forward by him (the representative of the Friends' Missionary Benani in Pemba) shows conclusively that those charges were made without sufficient care or inquiry into the facts. The ignorance or the impulsiveness of individual conduct should not however permanently detract from the services which such Missions, if properly conducted, are capable of rendering both to the Government and to the cause, which, equally with the Government, they have at heart. It is further to be hoped that the complete refutation of statements too easily accepted and reproduced by important associations in this country, which these papers record, may not be without effect in producing a more cautious and dispassionate attitude on the part of the representative persons and organs of the Anti-Slavery movement in the future."

It is clear that many, who are slaves, and can obtain freedom, on their immediate application to the authorized authorities, prefer to remain with their present masters, and to live in the homesteads in which they have been brought up. However, during the past year, in the two islands of Pemba and Zanzibar 2,000 have applied and obtained their freedom, and 2,278 have voluntarily agreed to accept fresh conditions of service with their former masters. In short the working of the Decree, by the example of the Sultan, with respect to his own slaves, and the assiduous administration of the Zanzibar Government, and the firm and judicious action of the British Government "have resulted in a very sensible improvement in the condition of the population throughout the islands."

In regard to the question of concubinage, which exists in these islands,

* *Vide Africa*, No. 6, 1898.

Sir A. Hardinge makes the following pertinent remarks: "Any person acquainted with native customs, would know that a concubine or a slave girl, whom her master having begotten a child by her, or having only cohabited with her, removes from the category of common slaves, and has to treat for all purposes as a wife. The status of a concubine is familiar to all readers of the Bible, but whilst the Bible makes her children the legal inferiors of those of the wife and proclaims that 'the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with the son of the free-woman,' Islam, as becomes the creed of the children of Hagar, puts the offspring of the concubine on the same level as the offspring of the wife and treats Ishmael as equal with Isaac. Indeed, it may be said that in almost all Muhammadan Societies, in which there is a large slave population, the children of concubines outnumber those of wives, at least among the propertied classes. A glance at the reigning dynasties of the various Moslem States is very instructive on this point."

And with respect to the responsibilities of the British Government as to the government of Zanzibar, it must be kept in view, that it is not British territory, but a protected state, in which the executive and judicial administration lies in the hands of the Zanzibar Government and its native officials, controlled by Muhammadan law, although in this State, by the action of the British Government, the legal status of slavery has been formally abolished, and is being gradually enforced, due regard being had to the principle embodied in the Act of Parliament, 3 and 4 Wm. IV., Cap. 85, which imposed on the Government of India the duty of extinguishing slavery in British territory, with this proviso as applied to Native States *inter alia*—"that the laws of marriage and the rights and authorities of fathers and heads of families" are upheld.

1 August, 1898.

LEX LOCI.

NORTH BORNEO.

It is satisfactory to find that the visit of Mr. Cowie, the Managing Director of the British North Borneo Company, to North Borneo has resulted in the submission of Mat Salleh and his followers, and in the establishment of peace and contentment among the natives. Important concessions of territory have been granted by the courteous and firm diplomacy of Mr. Cowie. The area of the Company's property is now about 31,000 square miles. The possibilities of the country are very great—capable of growing almost anything; there are also coal, iron and timber in abundance, with enormous quantities of sago and jungle produce, and a reasonable prospect of gold.

CHINA: CAUSES OF DISCONTENT IN KWANGSI.

The inhabitants of Kwangsi and Kwangtung are different in race, are physically above the average of Chinese, and have at all times been restless and difficult to govern. They are under the impression that they are governed by a woman, who is prepared to make concessions to the Power who controls the Northern Frontier, and that the Empress Dowager is supported by Li Hun-Chang, who is hated by the people. The object of

the rebellion is apparently to free themselves from a distasteful Government, whose antipathy has united the divergent races, and roused them to an aspiration akin to patriotism. Hence matters may soon develop into a formidable rebellion.

HONGKONG.

RUSSIA AND BRITISH SHIPPING.

By a recently enacted Russian law, which comes into force in 1900, it is provided (1) that all goods forwarded between Russian ports, whether in Europe or the East, must be carried in Russian ships, except salt, between ports in the Baltic and Black Seas: (2) that no British seamen shall be employed in Russian ships.

BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA PROTECTORATE.

The Annual Report of the Acting Commissioner, Col. Manning, has just been issued (C. 9,048), from which it appears that during the past year satisfactory progress has been made both in imports and exports within the Protectorate. European planters are pushing forward their enterprises inland, and opening out estates on the west of Lake Nyassa with encouraging success. The imports for 1896-7 amounted to £79,954, and this year to £88,827; the exports in the former year amounted to £23,299, and last year to £27,436. Rivers have been cleared for navigation by steamers, and the making of roads is rapidly progressing. In the centres, such as Cholo, Blantyre, Zomba and Mlanje, coffee is being steadily cultivated, and its quality has reached a high average in the London market. There are also under cultivation tobacco, tea, chillies, sugar, and indigo. Telegraph and postal arrangements are improved and extended, and surveys for railways have been completed.

WEST AFRICAN PROTECTORATE.

A Parliamentary paper dated 20 June, 1898, has been issued, giving a commission and instructions to Sir David P. Chalmers to make a minute inquiry into the causes of the native insurrection in Sierra Leone and the state of the Colony in general. The inquiry is to embrace the general state of affairs existing in the Colony and Protectorate, and the best mode of raising the revenue required for maintaining good government and the development of the country whilst respecting the rights of the natives and protecting them from unscrupulous land speculators, and other encroachments on their rights and liberties.

THE IMPERIAL PENNY POST.

As the result of the Imperial Conference on postal rates, it has been agreed that letter postage of one penny per half-ounce should be established between the United Kingdom, Canada, Newfoundland, the Cape Colony, Natal, and such of the Crown colonies as may be willing to adopt it. In India, letters on October 1 will be 1 anna for 1½ tolas—less than an ounce. The rate of ocean post is still under consideration. The new arrangement in England will commence at Christmas next.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO. ; LONDON.

1. *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny in Delhi.* This is the first account of the events of a part of the famous Indian Mutiny of 1857 from purely native sources that has been given to the world, and we should be much indebted to the late Mr. Metcalfe for his no doubt admirable translation of narratives from two such reliable eye-witnesses as Mainodin (probably Muayyan ul dín, certified in the Faith) Hassan Khan and Múnshí Jívan Lal, the former an inspector of police, and the latter a Court writer at Delhi. Both of them were exceptionally well situated for acquiring special information of events as they occurred, and the Múnshí has made good use in what he has written of the opportunities he had for observing and recording those inner phases of the life at the Court of the great Mogul under the peculiar circumstances of the Mutiny, which otherwise would never have seen the light. There is in existence, unfortunately as yet only in manuscript, but which we hope may some day be published, the translation of a similar narrative by a Múnshí at Lucknow, made for Mr. A. Constable by the writer of this article, which is just as graphic in its details of the utter confusion that prevailed at that place among the natives at the Court of the late King of Oude, when they were left to themselves to deal with a mutinous army. No better illustration could be afforded of the correctness of the old Roman maxim of *divide et impera*, especially in dealing with Orientals. Here was a powerful native army, drilled and disciplined by ourselves, armed with the most formidable weapons, both artillery and musketry, invented at the time, and accustomed to act together, which when deprived of their European officers speedily became a mere rabble, with no cohesion and incapable of organization, although in many cases the men that composed it were individually brave. The hands were there, as capable as ever, but the heads, the European officers, no longer guided them, and the former could no longer perform their wonted task. Subadars and native commissioned officers, who under the youngest English Ensign would have emulated the deeds of their predecessors at Plassy, Assaye, Ghazní, and on other famous battle-fields, now let feelings of ambition, jealousy, caste prejudice, and religious rancour sway them, and what should have been the common interest was lost sight of. Hence Delhi fell, and the Mutiny was eventually suppressed.

But to the student of human nature there is presented in these narratives the still more interesting spectacle of the fatuity of dependence on a great name. Had the last of the Moguls been an Akbar or an Aurangzib, who could have wielded with ability the enormously powerful weapon of the native army placed by Providence in his hand, and forced it to obey his single will, the Mutiny of 1857 would probably not have been quelled without a far more prolonged struggle and the shedding of rivers of English blood, even if the British had not in the first instance been driven

completely out of the country. But, fortunately for us, *Diis aliter visum*, and the feeblest of the great Timúr's successors held the sceptre of Delhi in a weak and palsied hand. A more piteous sight than that of the nominal Emperor, surrounded by intriguers, each trying to do the best for himself by cajoling and flattering, if not deliberately deceiving, the infatuated old man, endeavouring to act the part of a great ruler, can hardly be conceived. It is a fact, to perpetrate a bull for the occasion, that the best man at the Court of Delhi at the time was Begam Zurat Mahal, the Emperor's chief wife. Fortunate, again, was it for the permanence of our rule in India that the *magni nominis umbra* attracted almost the whole of the mutinous regiments to the one great centre of Delhi, with the unlooked-for result that the funds for their payment failed, and the consequent blackmailing and actual plunder of native bankers and neighbouring Zamindars, such as the Nawáb of Jujjur, tended to disgust the better classes of the people, and make them long for the return of the Sáhibs and the orderly rule they had established. Had there been a few capable leaders among the mutineers, who could have formed subordinate centres of rule in different parts of the country, and collected the funds necessary for their civil and military departments from the ordinary land revenue of the surrounding districts, this at least would have been avoided.

But let us turn to the one agreeable view of the native character afforded in these pages, to which the author has pointedly called attention in his introductory remarks, when he speaks of the fidelity shown by some of them to their late European masters under circumstances which held out to them such unprecedented temptations to be unfaithful to their salt. As shown by our author, there were found, even in those troublous times, natives loyal and true, whose minds remained unaffected by the bloodshed and violence they witnessed around them. Everyone who has resided long in India must be acquainted with many such cases among his own servants, if he has treated them with the commonest justice due from a master towards those who have served him; but it is a good thing that those who have not so resided should know through the medium of a book such as that under review that all natives of India are not tarred with the same brush, and that in reality only few of those whom unthinking men who come across the worst specimens of the race, are in the habit of contemptuously terming *niggers*, deserve to be treated but with the most sincere respect for their many good qualities. Let those who think to the contrary study these narratives, which were not originally written for the purpose of meeting the public European eye, and they will be convinced that there is such a virtue as gratitude under the dark skin of the natives of India, and that many of them act up to it faithfully according to their lights.

A. R.

2. *Our Troubles in Poona and the Deccan*, by ARTHUR CRAWFORD, C.M.G. This work, with many beautiful illustrations, gives an historical sketch of Poona from the sixteenth to the end of last century, and subsequent tragical events to the present time. He has much sympathy with the native races, and desires that Governors, Lieutenant-Governors and their sub-

ordinates should acquire a thorough knowledge of the languages of the people, overhaul objectionable text-books in schools, give endowments to Muhammadan and lower-class schools and colleges, reform the police, make judicious efforts to rescue the peasantry from indebtedness, and extend irrigation by means which at present exist, without resorting to ambitious and costly schemes. The work deserves careful study by all interested in India and its administration.

WM. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

3. *The History of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain*, by PROF. BURROWS. This is a new and revised edition of a well-known and important work. The author, as an impartial historian and a patriotic statesman, details the foreign policy of Britain, from the time of William the Conqueror to the present time. He lays it down as an axiom that Britain has always acted on the theory of self-defence, and has united with Continental Powers, to protect herself and them from tyranny and arbitrary power. In order to accomplish this object she had to become the mistress of the seas. Having achieved this end, her commerce has been protected and developed, her empire in India, Africa, and Australasia is being gradually built up, and her position in Egypt is the key of her position. A very valuable index is appended to the work.

WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON:

4. *Under the Dragon Flag: My Experiences in the Chino-Japanese War*, by JAMES ALLAN. This is an account of the author's experiences during the late Chino-Japanese war. He begins by telling us about his previous life, how he wasted a large fortune, and how, reduced to poverty, he took to the sea for a living. After several voyages he left California with a cargo of war material for China, which, after an adventure with a Japanese man-of-war, was safely landed at Tien-tsin. His vessel was then engaged to transport troops to the Yalu, and the battle which took place there, between the Japanese and China fleets, is well described, the author having passed the scene of battle in an open boat. At Port Arthur he was, by an oversight, left on shore when his ship sailed, and whilst on his way to Tien-tsin in a Chinese launch was captured by a Japanese cruiser. After some weeks' detention, he escaped and reached Port Arthur again. Here he was present when the place was taken by the Japanese, and he describes the massacres committed by them in retaliation for the fiendish treatment of the Japanese killed and wounded by the Chinese. Some of the scenes he describes are revolting, and he tells us how he had to bayonet a Japanese officer, in order to secure his own escape, which he eventually effected in a junk. The last chapter (vii.) is devoted to a minute description of a junk, the way it is built, rigged, furnished, manned, and worked.

HOBBIES, LIMITED, PATERNOSTER ROW; LONDON.

5. This company has produced, by the new Rembrandt Italianesque process an excellent *Photogravure* of Mr. Stanley Berkeley's spirited picture of

the attack of the Gordon Highlanders at Dargai. The colonel is seen boldly leading his men, rushing forward over immense boulders, under a deadly hail of bullets, with that dash and momentum peculiar to Highland regiments, while the piper, though badly hit, is sitting on a rock, cheering his comrades with their favourite tune, "The Cock of the North." Perfection of detail and softness of tone are exhibited in this excellent work to an event which will be imperishable among the other acts of heroism of this famous regiment.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON.

6. *The Silence of God*, by ROBERT ANDERSON, C.B., LL.D. To the Christian, who believes in the inspiration of the Bible and the Divinity of the Lord Jesus Christ, this work will be of extreme comfort and value. It clears away many difficulties to the thoughtful Christian, and removes many obstacles which have been raised by infidels, sceptics, agnostics, the so-called higher criticism, and superficial interpreters of the Bible, specially with respect to the Gospels and Epistles. The appendix contains valuable exegesis on some of the difficult texts in St. Paul's Epistles, and otherwise exhibits extremely interesting views of the Pauline doctrine of Christianity. The whole work is acute and able, and cogently answers the question that although "the God of the Bible is infinite both in power and compassion, and in other ages" manifested Himself at sundry times and diverse manners, why He has in these last days ceased thus to manifest Himself? The Christian is not left in doubt as to the answer, and by a careful perusal of Dr. Anderson's work, he will find a satisfactory and consoling solution.

HURST AND BLACKETT; LONDON, 1897.

7. *In Camp and Cantonment*, by EDITH E. CUTHELL, is the title of a series of tales which may be safely read in the railway carriage without causing a headache. The print is good, the style lively,—reminding one at times of Kipling,—and the themes are varied. In any page you may come across an amusing sentence—such as, "Little Mrs. Linnington was a British Cuirassier from the topmost curl of her pretty fringe to her very toes,"—or a surprising incident—such as a young gentleman mistaking a Brahmini bull for a wild buffalo, or a dead crocodile yielding up the ring and bracelet of a woman, swallowed the night before, without any trace of the finger or wrist,—which stimulate a momentary curiosity, without making any strain upon the intellect. None of the stories are intended to be taken seriously. When we add that the scenes are mostly laid in Anglo-India, with its "crisp" air, "arid" waters, and "wild Brahmin" bulls, and that the *dramatis personæ* are generally young men and women, attached in one sense or another to the "Crimson Cuirassiers" ("who loved not the land of their temporary exile except from the point of view to pay") we shall have done all that is needful in the way of introducing the volume to the majority of readers. In any case our acknowledgments are due to the author for the amusement we have enjoyed in turning over the very bright and readable pages of her book.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO.

8. *Indian Frontier Warfare*, by CAPTAIN G. I. YOUNGHUSBAND, P.S.C. This work forms the third volume of the Wolseley Series, edited by Captain Walter H. James, the object of which is to place works of eminence on warfare, whether English or foreign, before British officers, with the view of their studying the treatises of all nations in the various departments of the art of war. The present volume treats of defensive and offensive warfare along the British Frontier of India,—whether mountain, forest, or otherwise,—the commissariat, and other requirements in Frontier warfare. The work is accompanied with a list of Indian terms of officials with their English equivalents, a minute index, and maps to illustrate the Chitrál campaign, the defence of Thobal, the battles of Ahmed Kheyl, Maiwand, and Charasia, the capture of Nilt Fort, and the country around Sherpur.

KELLY AND WALSH; SHANGHAI, HONGKONG AND SINGAPORE.

9. *The Temples and Shrines of Nikko, Japan*, by R. C. HOPE. This is a handy volume describing in detail the various objects of art and nature which a visitor to Nikko should not neglect to see. From its description, and from the few plates which the book contains, the scenery of Nikko appears to be very beautiful, and the climate in summer is said to be delightful. It abounds in temples to every description of gods and goddesses; gods of the hill, of luck, of small-pox, of thunder, of war, and of wind are among those enumerated. Of one image of the goddess of children (Jizo) it is said that it is "hung all over in front with red bibs and old sandals, offerings of the faithful for little children deceased." There are appendices of fares, fees, postal and telegraph rates, and of the various festivals; and every information as to routes and hotels is given in the text.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON.

10. *The Story of Australia*, by FLORA L. SHAW. This work forms part of the "Story of the Empire Series." The author has told the story of the countries, now included under the term Australasia, exceedingly well. She begins by narrating the early visits to those coasts of Torres and Tasman and the subsequent explorations of the English sailors Dampier and Cook, during the latter half of the last century, and gives us a vivid notion of the aspect of the countries and the condition of their inhabitants at that time, obtained from their reports, which, coming during a time of peace, were received with much interest at home. The great impetus to immigration, however, began only on the discovery of gold. She exhibits the many difficulties which the first settlers had to contend with, and shows how, by the help of the English Government and Exchequer, industry was encouraged and fostered, resulting in the ownership by individuals or companies of large tracts of land for the pasturage of immense flocks of sheep, or for agriculture. She traces the development of constitutional and Parliamentary government, and the rapid formation of a new nation, consisting of prosperous colonies, enjoying all the rights and liberties of Englishmen. Having detailed the various steps of progress in a very lucid manner, she concludes her instructive story by expressing a hope, that "the next brilliant chapter for the historian of the continent to record will be that of a United Australia."

11. *The Story of India*, by D. C. BOULGER, is a popular epitome of Indian history—chiefly of that of the last two centuries—which will, however, hardly displace the admirable short histories already written by Sir William Hunter and Sir Alfred Lyall. Twelve pages are all that are given to the history of India under its native chiefs or the Musulman conquerors, but even with the brevity necessitated by so small a space, a greater accuracy of expression might have been attained. For instance the sentence which describes the reign of the Moghul Emperor Humayoun is so worded as to give the impression that during that Emperor's flight from India his brother Kamran reigned in his place, instead of the Afghan dynasty known by the name of Sur; and that Akbar, who was a mere boy when his father died, *after* his return to India, had assisted his father to defeat—not the last Suri king but—Kamran. In his account of the development of the East India Company's political power in India, the author is strangely inconsistent. At page 71 he writes, "The events that led to the establishment of British power on the Ganges can in no wise be attributed to the arrogance or self-assertion of the East India Company's representatives. Their policy was peace, and they would submit to any exactions short of absolute repression and extortion. There is absolutely no evidence to warrant the charge that Mr. Holwell and his colleagues had any political designs, etc.," and yet in former pages he magnifies the occasional conflicts between the company's servants and the subordinate officials of the Moghul Emperor's viceroys in outlying provinces into victories over the Moghuls, in order to point the moral that from the first the company was ready to draw the sword against the Emperor, and to correct "the narrow but hitherto generally accepted view that the French pointed out to us the way to conquest in India." "Sixty years," he writes, "before the French won the battle of St. Thomè, the English had fearlessly thrown down the gage to the Moghul himself, and defeated his armies." The fact appears to be that the company then used the word "Mogulls" much as at a later date they used the word "Moors" to denote all Indians alike, but we believe that the first time when the English definitely came into conflict with the Emperor of Dehli's troops was at the battle of Buxar and by that time the empire of the Moghuls was little more than a titular dignity. The best chapter in the book is perhaps the last, in which the general effect of the transfer of the government of India from the East India Company to the Queen Empress is reviewed at some length and with much judgment and insight.

12. *The Story of South Africa*, by W. BASIL WORSFOLD. This is a clear, concise, connected and well-written history of South Africa, from the settlement of the Dutch and the Huguenots to the present time. The transition from the Dutch to the British, the origin of the Orange Free States, the semi-independence of the Transvaal, the self-governing Cape Colony, and Rhodesia, are all told in a very interesting manner, as well as the various mistakes which have been made by the Government at home. Throughout, the British Government has had two great objects in view,—the abolition of the slave trade, and the welfare of the native races. The vast regions, their resources and products, now under the control of British

power and influence, remain to be developed by energetic, humane, and wise counsels, and hence the great and important advantage to British trade and the promotion of civilization, whose pioneers were Robert Moffat, Livingstone, and other travellers and missionaries.

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON.

13. *South Africa of To-day*, by CAPTAIN FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E., with illustrations. Captain Younghusband, from his literary abilities, is well qualified to write on the present affairs of South Africa. In his two visits to the country, he not only saw it at its most interesting crisis, but in addition to a sojourn of six months in the Transvaal, he traversed the length of Rhodesia, the Cape Colony, the native territories, Natal, and the Portuguese possessions round Delagoa Bay. He describes minutely the relations of the Boers, the Dutch in the Cape Colony, the Orange Free States, and the Indian immigration in Natal, and the condition of British settlers, their prospects in trade and agriculture, and the products of the country, in gold, coal, iron, and other mineral wealth. His account of the Jameson raid, and the difficulties of the British with the Boers, is full of interest. He sums up the policy of Great Britain to be, "that of abstention from any direct interference in the internal affairs of the Transvaal, while at the same time maintaining in the strictest manner the rights of free access of her subjects to the country, and of just treatment while in it, which the London Convention confers, and further, bringing again into sympathy with her all that body of Dutch opinion in the Cape Colony, Natal, and the Free State which has been estranged by recent events." This very interesting, instructive, and well written work is accompanied by a copious index, and excellent illustrations of towns, routes, houses, and a portrait of Mr. Cecil J. Rhodes.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO.; LONDON.

14. *Osmanli Proverbs and Quaint Sayings*, by the REV. E. J. DAVIS. Few nations have possessed so large or interesting a proverbial philosophy as the Turks. The habit of illustrating one's conversation with maxims, riddles, and similes has always been more prevalent in the East than in the West; the structure of the Turkish language is moreover specially adapted to terse and epigrammatic forms of expression. For the student of Turkish, the Turkish proverbs give a far better insight into one of the most expressive and graceful languages than the overloaded historical or poetical works that make up the mass of Ottoman Turkish literature. And so far the Rev. Chaplain of St. Mark's, Alexandria, deserves the thanks of the English reader for publishing Ahmed Midhat Effendi's collection with a translation. The actual carrying out of the task leaves much to be desired: as a piece of work it is lazily done. The transliteration is hopeless. The author says in his preface "all the vowels should be pronounced as in Italian." That the Italian vowel system is quite incapable of rendering the Turkish vowels is nothing to him. But it is hard to know what he means by "Italian vowels"—as far as one can

discover it is a mixture of English and French: *oo* for *û* and *ee* for *î* are domestic pronunciations; *on, en, u*, German; *u, ö, ü* are French. The text in Turkish characters is put at the end, but shows no traces of editing. The translation is not always very accurate. In the preface Mr. Davis refers to Ahmed Midhat Effendi as a writer well known twenty years ago. We hope the worthy gentleman in question (who if we mistake not still flourishes in a high official position at Constantinople) will not come across this little obituary notice of Mr. Davis.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO.; LONDON.

15. *Ideals of the East*, by HERBERT BAYNES, M.R.A.S. This work, dedicated to Lord Reay, President of the Royal Asiatic Society, is based on the theory that "law comes from the West, light from the East." By the "light" the author means those essential truths which have engaged in all ages the highest aspirations of the human race. By beautiful and apt quotations from the "Sacred Books of the East," he traces the ideal of faith, stage after stage, from the ethical, the metaphysical, the theosophical, the religious, down to the Semitic, all leading up to, and converging in, the last "ideal of Faith," "the way, the truth, and the life." This highly interesting and instructive volume will be much appreciated by the thoughtful reader.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY; CHICAGO.

16. *The Gospel of Buddha*, told by PAUL CARUS, according to old Records: fifth edition. This moderate-sized work is embodied in some 230 pages, followed by a minute "Table of Reference," a very good Glossary of Oriental Terms, and a full and carefully-prepared Index. The "Table of Reference" gives the sources whence the materials of the work were drawn, and indicates in a special column places in the New Testament where similar teaching may be found. At the end of the work we have a Compendium of the teaching accredited to Buddha, and this is followed by a series of commendatory notices of the present work by living writers, commencing with a notice written under the authority of the King of Siam. The work is divided into a series of Sections, one hundred in number, and the subject of each Section is specified in a good Table of Contents. Altogether it is a work in which the hand of the painstaking workman is very evident, and no labour has been spared by which the material of the work might be made easily accessible to the reader. Finally, the printing, paper, and general get-up of the book proclaim distinctly its Transatlantic origin.

What-like the subject-matter of the book is we shall best describe by telling what it is *not*. It is not a historical work. The reader who would arrive at some definite information respecting the Life of Buddha, will find nothing here to meet his inquiries. How he came to enter upon his career as a propagandist of a new religion,—what were the places he visited in his wanderings in India,—what kind of life he lived and what was the process by which he gathered his followers,—what was the time and manner of his decease,—of these and such-like matters the present work

says nothing which could be judicially described as "historical." The material, the spirit, and the manner of the book are not such as would render it of any use for the purposes of the dispassionate, judicial, historical critic. It is written in the spirit of the religious enthusiast, and in the heated and rhapsodical style so well known to all readers of the religious books of the Orient. Not a single date does it contain, nor any data upon which inquiry might be met or cool opinion formed. The problem whether such a person as Buddha ever lived at all is not so much as glinted at, still less subjected to critical inquiry. The work is essentially religious, yet it is not controversial: at the same time it contains ample material for controversy, and the compiler's Preface is calculated to provoke it. The work consists of the sayings traditionally attributed to Buddha, and it sets forth, largely in the form of narrative, the doctrines, tenets, precepts, and practices of Buddhism. To those who have been at the pains to inform themselves on these matters, the work will not be found to contain anything fresh or new. Those who open the book in the expectation of reading some historic verities regarding Buddha will not find in it what they seek. The work is not a treatise on Buddhism; it is Buddhism itself,—consisting of translations into English of certain "Records" current among Buddhists; and as a rendering into English of the tenets of Buddhism, it will be helpful to those who desire to know something of the teachings and genius of that religion but have not the means for consulting the original documents for themselves. Inasmuch as the work does not present an appraisalment or critical diagnosis of Buddhism, it is easy to understand why it has met with such warm admiration at the hands of living Buddhists.

B.

 WILBY AND SONS; LONDON.

17. *The Law of Divorce applicable to Christians in India (the Indian Divorce Act, 1869)*, by H. A. B. RATTIGAN, B.A. Oxon. This handy, well-printed volume of 460 pages meets a want, which has been felt more and more since 1870, when Mr. Macrae's work, long since out of print, saw the light. With hardly an exception, the decisions of the Indian High Courts and the Privy Council on the Indian Divorce Act belong to the later 27 years; as do also many important judgments of the tribunals in England, which have explained, amplified or superseded the cases in the old Ecclesiastical Reports and our earlier Law Reports. For this great array of new authorities, the legal profession in India has been obliged hitherto to refer to various Digests. In the work before us, they are cited in their proper places; and we notice that in the Appendix F, dealing with the technical subject of costs, the cases supporting each propounded rule are collected in plain print under the title "Authority," so as to save much labour of mind and eyesight. The same result, creditable to both the author and the publisher, is attained on every page, by the use of various types, the naming of the sections, the good index, and the summarizing of special topics in appendices. The practising lawyer can thus see at once where his materials are arranged; and in this way the form adopted has aided the successful endeavour of the learned author to make the book at once full and exact.

Section 7 of the Act directs the Indian Courts to apply the rules of the Court of Divorce in England to matters on which the Statute itself is silent. As its principles and doctrines are naturally those which for centuries have been developed in England, under Christian influences, in is obvious that the whole law of marriage and divorce of the European and other Christian races in the Indian Empire has always been, and is long likely to be, moulded on English jurisprudence. This remark gives the reason for Section 7, and accounts for the great weight always given in India to the English decisions. It fully justifies the author in giving 40 pages as Appendix G to the formal rules of the English Court. We are sure that all practising lawyers, as well as judges, will agree too that he was well advised to give, under each section of the Act, the corresponding sections of the Matrimonial Acts of England. This enables us at once to see whether an English authority is on all fours as to construction, or must be treated only as a guide. The busy advocate will be glad to know that the rules of the Civil Procedure Code and the Indian Evidence Act are quoted where they apply. This treatment of outlying matters will avert many of the defaults of memory in the hurry and anxiety of a trial.

While we think the framework of the book deserves the highest praise, we can cordially commend the matter. It is of the first importance to the lawyer in Court to have the latest decisions. We find them here, *e.g.*, *Russell v. Russell*. The more important judgments of the Parsee Chief Matrimonial Court at Bombay are noted where they bear on a point. Much care is taken to show the points actually decided: we think the cases are well arranged, and approve the course taken of quoting the judge's words on wide matters of principle and questions of difficulty. The mere suggestion of such topics as jurisdiction, validity, status, domicile, in matters connected with marriage and divorce, involves of course much argued doctrines of international law. This part of the subject has not been shirked, but on the contrary dealt with as a learned jurist would handle it, as in the preliminary discussions on domicile and jurisdiction, and the questions awakened by the recent case of *Le Mesurier v. Le Mesurier*. The author modestly gives his own solutions, without labouring points, which can only be settled by the Privy Council or the House of Lords. Lastly, let us add that the comments are agreeable reading, and make the law as clear to laymen as any text-book can. We can safely predict that this volume will at once be accepted by Indian lawyers both as a guide to practice and as the standard work on the subject it deals with.

OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

WE acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following works, which want of space prevents our noticing at greater length in the present number:

General Map of the Nile Valley from Berber to Victoria Nyanza, compiled at the Intelligence Division of the War Office, 1898.

Annual Progress Report of the Archæological Survey Circle of the N. W. Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending 30th June, 1897.

Report of the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the year 1896-7. (Bombay Government Central Press, 1898.) Also from the same press, *The Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yerrowda* for the year 1897.

A Modern Pilgrim in Jerusalem, by JOHN ROOKER, M.A. (Christian Knowledge Society, London.) A pleasing and interesting account of a visit to Jerusalem, Bethany, Bethlehem, the Dead Sea and Jordan, with illustrations.

Japan and the Japan Mission (Church Missionary Society, London), with map and illustrations, describing the country, the political changes and tolerant policy of the present Government, and hopeful progress in the future.

The Anti-Christian Crusade, by ROBERT COOFE. (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London.) A convenient collection of the opinions of Bishops, Deans, and other dignitaries of the Church of England with respect to "evolution" and "higher criticism."

A Journey through South Africa (illustrated), by ELLIS EDWARDS, affording interesting information regarding the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, Natal, and its capital, Durban. A readable and instructive book.

The Nicetical Christ, by S. H. PLAYFAIR (W. H. White and Co., Edinburgh), exhibiting the common ground and basis of faith in the Christian Churches of the East and West, and the teachings of the Koran.

Anecdota Oxoniensis. Aryan Series. Part VIII. *The Mantrapatha*, or the *Prayer-Book of the Apostambius*, edited by M. WINTERITZ, PH.D. (Clarendon Press.)

Through Finland in Carts, by MRS. ALEC TWEEDIE. (Adam and Charles Black, London.) Beautifully illustrated, and exceedingly well got up.

Sir Henry Lawrence, the Pacificator, by LIEUT.-GENERAL J. J. MCLEOD INNES, R.E., V.C., with portrait. (The Clarendon Press.)

Feudal and Modern Japan, by ARTHUR MAY KNAPP. Two neat vols. (Duckworth and Co., London.) Fully illustrated.

The Story of Hawaii, by JEAN A. OWEN (MRS. VISGER). (Harper and Brothers, London and New York.)

Banani, the Transition from Slavery to Freedom in Zanzibar and Pemba, by HENRY STANLEY NEWMAN (Headley Brothers, London), with map and illustrations.

British West Africa, vol. i. of the Imperial Library. By MAJOR A. F. MOCKLER FERRYMAN, F.R.G.S., with maps and numerous well-executed illustrations. (The Imperial Press, Limited, London.)

Linguistic and Oriental Essays, written from the year 1840 to 1897. 2 vols. By ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D. (Luzac and Co., London), with portrait of the author.

By the same publisher, *Bouddhisme—Études et Matériaux—Ādikarma-pratīpa Bodhicaryāvatāratikā*, by LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures. July, 1898. (The University of Chicago Press; Luzac and Co., London.)

Ummaga Jātaka (the Story of the Tunnel), translated from the Sinhalese by T. B. YATAWARA, M.C.B.R.A.S. (Luzac and Co., London.)

Letchimey: A Tale of Old Ceylon, by "SINNATAMBY," with illustrations. (Luzac and Co., London.) A pleasing and instructive story, well printed, well written, giving side-lights of old Ceylon and its people.

Manuale e Glossario, della lingua Indostana o Urdu, by CAMILLO TAGLIABUE. (R. Accademia dei Lincei, Rome.)

Some Side-Lights upon Fitzgerald's Poem, "The Ruba'iyat of Omar Khayyām," by EDWARD HERON-ALLEN, being the substance of a lecture at the Grosvenor Crescent Club on 22nd March, 1898. (H. S. Nichols, Limited, London.)

David Hume, by the late PROFESSOR CALDERWOOD, forming one of the Famous Scots Series. (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, Edinburgh and London.) And another of the same series, *Mungo Park, the Traveller*, by the same publishers.

Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China, by M. HUC, during the years 1844-56. 2 vols. Translated from the French by W. Hazlitt, well illustrated; reprint edition. (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co.)

Ten Years' Captivity in the Mahdi's Camp, 1882-92, from the original manuscripts of Father Joseph Ohrwalder. A popular and cheap edition, by COL. F. R. WINGATE, R.A., Director of Military Intelligence of the Egyptian Army. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London.)

Russian Hosts and English Guests in Central Asia, by J. T. WOOLRYCH PEROWNE. Beautifully printed, with sixty illustrations and map. (The Scientific Press, Limited, London.)

Report for the Year 1895 of the U. S. National Museum of the Smithsonian Institution, containing among other most valuable documents papers describing and illustrating collections in the museum. The volume contains upwards of 1,000 pages, with numerous illustrations and maps; also XVIth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1897.

Prince Ghika. Cinq Mois au Pays des Somalis. On sale by Rowland Ward, Piccadilly, London. Superbly got up, and beautiful photograph illustrations.

Sports in the Highlands of Kashmir, being a narrative of an eight months' trip in Baltistan and Ladak, and a lady's experiences in the latter country, together with hints for the guidance of sportsmen, by HENRY ZOUCH DARVAH, with many beautiful illustrations from photographs by the author, and two excellent maps. (Rowland Ward, Piccadilly, London.)

Ethnological Studies among the North-West Central Queensland Aborigines, by WALTER E. ROTH, with upwards of 400 illustrations, intended for scientific purposes only. (Brisbane: Government Printing Office; also London Office of the Agent General of Queensland, Westminster Chambers, 1, Victoria Street).

The Indian Frontier War, being an account of the Mohmund and Tirah Expeditions, 1897, by LIONEL JAMES (Reuter's Special Correspondent), with many illustrations, maps and plans. (William Heinemann, London.)

Footsteps in Human Progress, secular and religious, by JAMES SAMUELSON. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London.)

By the same publishers, *Studies in Little-Known Subjects*, by C. E. PLUMPTRE.

Klondyke: Truth and Facts of the New el Dorado, by A. E. IRONMONGER SOLA, with illustrations. (The Mining and Geographical Institute, Broad Street House, London.)

A Bird's Eye View of Picturesque India, by the Right Hon. SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, Bart., M.P., with thirty-two beautiful and interesting illustrations. (Chatto and Windus, London.) A charming work, giving a purview of India of to-day, its land, its people and its government.

We beg to acknowledge also the receipt of: *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*The Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London: Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (Arnold and Co.);—*Le Polybiblion* (Paris: Rue St. Simon);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—The American Weekly, *Public Opinion* (Astor Place, New York);—*Journal of the Society of Arts* (London);—*Le Mémorial Diplomatique* (Paris);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing *Hebraica* (Chicago, Ill.: The University of Chicago Press);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes-rendus de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris: Hachette);—From Geo. Newnes, London: the three last numbers of *The Strand Magazine*;—the three last numbers of *The Navy and Army*, and the first numbers of *The Wide World*, *The Ladies' Field*, and *The Citizen's Atlas*. The last Quarter's "SANSKRIT JOURNAL" of the Oriental University Institute, Woking.

We regret that owing to want of space we have been obliged again, at the last moment, to withhold reviews of the following books, which will appear in our next issue: *Egypt in the XIXth Century*, by D. A. CAMERON. *Indian Village Folk, their Works and Ways*, by T. B. PANDIAN. *Bible References of John Ruskin*, by MARY and ELLEN GIBBS. *The Downfall of Prempeh*, by MAJOR R. S. S. BADEN-POWELL. *The Story of the Ionic Revolt as told by Herodotus*, selections revised by C. C. Tancock. *Twelve Indian Statesmen*, by G. SMITH. *La Corée indépendante, Russe, ou Japonaise*, by VILLELARD DE LAQUÉRIE. *The Gist of Japan*, by REV. R. B. PEERY. *Chinese Characteristics*, by ARTHUR H. SMITH. *Pictures of Southern China*, by REV. I. MACGOWAN. *The Early History of the Hebrews*, by REV. A. H. SAYCE. *Reminiscences of an Indian Police Official*, by A. CRAWFORD. *From Jungle to Java*, by A. KEYSER. *Hausaland, or Fifteen Hundred Miles through the Central Soudan*, by REV. C. H. ROBINSON. *The Invasion of Egypt in A.D. 1249 by Louis IX. of France*, by REV. E. I. DAVIE. *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand*, by T. M. HOCKER. *The Bible and Islâm*, by H. P. SMITH, D.D.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Queen-Empress has been pleased to approve of the appointment of the Right Hon. George Nathaniel Curzon, now Baron Curzon of Kedleston, to be Viceroy and Governor General on the retirement of the Earl of Elgin.

Mr. Welldon, the Head-master of Harrow, has been appointed Bishop of Calcutta.

The aggregate amount of the tenders for the new $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Indian loan of 120 lakhs (12,000,000 rupees) is one crore and 70 lakhs (17,000,000 rupees). The average rate is 94 rupees, 12 annas and 5'8 pies.

The plague has again become epidemic in Bombay, continues slightly in Calcutta, and has appeared in Southern India.

Mr. Tilak, the native member of the Provincial Council of Bombay, who was sentenced last year for seditious incitement in his paper, the *Kesari*, has been released.

Copious rains in the Panjab have ensured a good wheat harvest.

At Poona, Agha Hashem Shah, a nephew of Agha Khan, has been shot dead by the family cashier.

The Sikh Saragheri Memorial Fund now amounts to upwards of Rs. 30,500.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.—Everything is quiet in Tirah, and the Afridis are busily engaged rebuilding their villages.

The Malakand force consists of a mountain battery, two squadrons of native cavalry, one company of sappers, and four regiments of native infantry. In July the forces of the Nawab of Dir, who is subsidized to keep open the Chitral road, came into collision with those of the Khan of Bajaur in the Jhandol Valley. The losses of the latter were heavy. In accordance with Major Dean's advice the forces on both sides dispersed on 11th August.

NATIVE STATES.—The Maharaj Rana of Dholepore has succeeded in collecting a large sum of money for the Indian Princes Victoria Health Institute, which is to be founded in commemoration of the Queen-Empress's Jubilee, and will facilitate bacteriological research in India.

The deaths of the following eminent rulers and statesmen have occurred: From apoplexy on the 15th July last of H.H. Sir Anand Rao Powar, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Maharaja of Dhar, at the age of 55. In him the Queen-Empress loses a loyal subject, and his numerous friends in Central India a generous host. He is succeeded by his nephew, Udajee Rao, whose adoption ceremony he completed on the day previous to his death. The Nawab Sir Asman Jah, K.C.I.E., at the age of 59. He was the greatgrandson of the second Nizam of the Deccan on his mother's side, and was reputed to be one of the wealthiest men in India. His loss to Hyderabad is irreparable, for no nobleman was so generally loved and respected by Europeans and natives alike. For seven years he was Prime Minister of Hyderabad. And H.H. the Raja Bahadur of Faridkot who died last

August. Born in 1842, he succeeded to the *gadi* in 1874. He was the head of the Barār Jat tribe of Sikhs, and a loyal subject of the Queen-Empress.

BURMA.—A largely attended Durbar was held at Rangoon in July last by the Lieut.-Governor. In his speech he dwelt on the peace and prosperity of Burma, the development of trade, the resources of the province, and the establishment of British Consuls at Momein and Assumos, which is expected to lead to increased trade with China.

Two important Branch Railways have been sanctioned, one from Meiktila to Myingyan, and the other from Sagaing to the Chindwin river. The cost will be 75 lakhs of rupees.

The Thilaw Sawbwa, one of the principal Shan chiefs, has arrived in England. He is one of the most loyal of the border Princes and has rendered much service to the Empire.

The survey for the railway between Burma and the Chinese province of Yunnan is about to be made. The British have secured railway concession to the head of the Yangtzi Valley.

The trans-frontier trade last year amounted to nearly 289 lakhs against 268 in the preceding year.

BALUCHISTAN.—Yār Muhammad Khan, chief of the Kurds, one of the two suspected Sirdars taken by Mr. Barnes, who was in custody last year, has gone to Candahar at the invitation of the Amir. The fugitive Sirdar is one of the most influential chiefs in Baluchistan.

The results of the opening up of the Quetta-Seistan trade route are proving successful. The exports and imports for the first four months of the current year amounted to over three lakhs of rupees.

AFGHANISTAN.—Colonel Sirdar Muhammad Ismail Khan, appointed by the Amir political representative in India in place of Sufi Ghulām Rassul, has entered on his duties at Simla.

A son has been born to the Amir, and has been named Muhammad.

PERSIA.—The Amin es-Sultan has been recalled from retirement and has received investiture as Sadr-azam, or Grand Vazir from the Shah.

Rioting has occurred at Tabriz owing to the dearness of bread, and the residence of the chief mujtahid has been sacked.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Eleven Armenian revolutionaries have been sentenced at Van, two to capital punishment and the rest to varying terms of imprisonment.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—By an act of clemency the Tsar has reduced from 1,000,000 to 300,000 roubles the contribution to be imposed upon the population of the Ferghana territory as a penalty for the recent revolt in that province.

PHILIPPINES.—The town of Manila was bombarded by the United States on 13th August. The Spanish garrison surrendered after a brief resistance. The inhabitants in the southern islands strongly urge the annexation by the United States of the whole of the islands.

CHINA.—The Wei-hai-wei Convention was signed on the 1st July by Sir C. Macdonald and Prince Ching. It places under British jurisdiction all the islands and waters of Wei-hai-wei, with a district ten miles wide

round the bay, giving the right to erect fortifications anywhere on or near the coast of the Shan-tung Promontory, east of longitude $121^{\circ} 40'$.

A Black Flag rising occurred in the province of Kwang-si, the rebels capturing Moning, Tienfak, Yung-shien, Pei-lin, and Lu-chuan. The rebels number about 40,000 men, their aim being the overthrow of Mandarin influence. Li Lap Yan, the leader, has proclaimed a new dynasty styled "Vast progress." See article on "Secret Societies."

Sir Claude Macdonald has declared in strong terms to the Tsung-li-Yamên that Great Britain will not tolerate any interference of another Power with a British loan contract freely entered into by the Chinese Government for the purpose of constructing a railway forming a connection between treaty ports where British commercial interests predominate.

By the latest reports negotiations are in progress with the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank.

A concession has been given to a British syndicate to construct a railway from British Kau-lung to Canton.

The revised regulations with regard to inland steam navigation have been accepted by Sir C. Macdonald as provisional only. China agrees that the word "inland" applies equally to places on the sea-coast as in the interior.

The Empress Dowager has resumed the government.

KOREA.—Another plot has been discovered against the Government. Several prominent officials were arrested, and others have fled.

An attempt was made to poison the Emperor and Crown Prince on the 11th ult.; eleven courtiers have been arrested.

Several mining concessions have been granted to an English syndicate.

JAPAN.—The new Commercial code came into operation on 1st July, and the Civil code on 16th July last.

It is reported that Hawaii has agreed to pay the sum of £40,000 demanded by Japan in settlement of the dispute which arose some time ago owing to the exclusion from Hawaii of Japanese immigrants.

EGYPT.—The value of imports for 1897 was £10,869,000, being an increase of £794,000 over 1896; exports £12,629,000, a diminution of £933,000 on 1896, owing chiefly to the fall of 20 per cent. in the price of cotton.

SUDAN.—On the 23rd August the advance of the combined Anglo-Egyptian force from Wad Hamed towards Khartum commenced. On 30th August a battle was fought before Omdurman, resulting in the annihilation of the enemy, and the flight of the Khalifa towards Kordofan. Omdurman was occupied, and many prisoners were set free. The casualties on our side were 2 British officers and 23 men killed, and 7 officers and 99 men wounded. Egyptians—1 officer and 20 non-commissioned officers and men killed, and 6 British officers, 8 native officers, and 221 non-commissioned officers and men wounded. The pursuit of the Khalifa was continued by Arabs on camels under Slatin Pasha. The Dervish loss has been estimated at 10,800 killed, 16,000 wounded, and between 3,000 and 4,000 prisoners. The Sirdar with a force after peacefully establishing British posts at Fashoda and Sobat returned to Omdurman. Colonel

Parsons attacked and captured Gedaref, the last stronghold of the Dervishes, defeating them with great slaughter.

It is proposed to establish a technical school at Khartum as a memorial to the late General Gordon by a national subscription. A sum of £50,000 is needed in order to provide a yearly endowment of £1,500. It is reported that a London merchant has offered to give the whole sum, but it is desired that the amount should be contributed in small sums so as to constitute it a national memorial.

BRITISH CENTRAL AND EAST AFRICA.—The rising of Southern Angonis is at an end. When the British force under Captain Pearce and Lieut. Brogden reached Domwe, it met with trifling opposition, and on advancing to Mandala's village, they found it deserted.

UGANDA.—Major Martyr with a strong force of Indian troops crossed the Nile and attacked the rebels near Mruli, killing about 40 and dispersing the rest. Lieut. Gage was slightly wounded.

SOUTH AFRICA: CAPE COLONY.—The Cape elections so far have resulted in the return of 40 Bond as against 39 Progressive candidates. The new Constitution for Rhodesia is expected to receive the Queen's sanction at the Cabinet Council on October 15. The election of the Legislative Council will take place at the beginning of the year.

The imports for the year ended 30th June last amounted to £16,916,315 as against £18,244,425 during 1896-97. The exports were of the value of £23,652,822 as against £19,268,175. Colonial produce shows an increase of £326,585. The Customs produced £1,802,320. Transvaal trade shows a decrease of £1,953,331, but that with Rhodesia partly compensates for it.

WEST AFRICA: SIERRA LEONE.—The disturbances have now subsided. Sir David Chalmers is investigating as to the causes of the rising. Traders are returning to their posts.

NIGER.—The two expeditions undertaken by the Royal Niger Company's forces against slave-raiding chiefs have been brought to a successful issue. The tribes of the rebellious Emirs were punished without any loss on our side.

LAGOS.—A force under Major Arnold has attacked and destroyed the town of Siama, in the Forcados branch of the Niger Delta, in punishment of the piratical practices of the inhabitants which had stopped the native river traffic.

CANADA.—The Budget: The financial statement for the past fiscal year shows a surplus of \$1,575,881; revenue amounting to \$40,275,704 and expenditure \$38,699,823. Public Debt \$264,086,357. Over \$5,000,000 is charged to capital account.

The imports during the fiscal year 1897-8 amounted to \$140,305,950, and the exports to \$159,485,770. The Customs revenue was \$21,956,059 as against \$19,891,996.

The Earl of Minto has been appointed Governor-General in succession to the Earl of Aberdeen.

The first meeting of the International Commission (United States and Canada) was held in Quebec on August 24.

On September 18 a terrific hurricane swept over the city of Montreal. Great damage was done, and many public buildings have been seriously damaged.

On September 21, a monument to the founder of Quebec, Samuel de Champlain, was unveiled at Quebec in presence of Lord Aberdeen and a great concourse of visitors. The French Consul-General represented the President of the French.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Lieut.-Colonel Sir H. E. McCallum, R.E., K.C.M.G., Governor of Lagos, has been appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief in succession to Sir H. H. Murray, K.C.B.

The revenue for the half year ended 30th June was \$32,000 in excess of that for the same period of last year.

Sir J. Branston and Admiral Sir James Elphinstone have been appointed Commissioners to inquire into matters relating to certain French treaty rights.

WEST INDIES.—A terrible hurricane, accompanied by a tidal wave and tremendous rainfall, visited the West Indies on September 11. Several hundred lives were lost, thousands left homeless, plantations laid waste, and much damage caused to shipping. The Barbados House of Assembly has voted £16,000, and the Trinidad Legislature £1,000, for the relief of the sufferers. The Lord Mayor of London has issued an appeal for subscriptions. The Queen has subscribed £250. The Prince of Wales 100 guineas.

AUSTRALASIA : NEW SOUTH WALES.—The value of the mineral products for 1897 amounted to £4,685,273, an increase of £206,905 compared with 1896. The gold yield for the past half-year was £567,000. The imports for the same period amounted to £8,299,000, and exports £7,218,000. Parliament was dissolved early in July. The result of the elections was the return of 63 Ministerialists, 57 Federalists, and 5 Independent Members. There are now 2,691 miles of railway open, and 65 of tramways. The total earnings amounted to £3,340,600, and the net earnings to nearly £150,000 being equal to 3½ per cent. on the capital invested. The Legislative Assembly has passed a resolution in favour of immediate steps being taken, in conjunction with the other Colonies, to bring about a complete federal union.

QUEENSLAND.—The imports and exports during the second quarter of 1898 amounted in value to £1,349,000 and £1,994,700 respectively; this is exclusive of gold coin. The revenue is estimated at £3,882,360, and the expenditure at £3,866,507. The loan estimates include £50,000 for the Northern mail service.

VICTORIA.—The gold yield in 1897 was 812,766 ounces. The revenue for the coming year was estimated at £6,907,439, and the expenditure at £6,873,529. The Savings Banks held deposits amounting to £8,096,874. Great activity is being displayed in agriculture and mining. An expenditure has been proposed by the Premier of about £3,750,000 on public works, and the strengthening of the defensive armaments.

The Bill for conferring the franchise upon women has been rejected by 19 votes to 15.

TASMANIA.—The Budget shows a surplus for the financial year of £109,000. The surplus for the coming year is estimated at £103,000.

NEW ZEALAND.—The leaders of the recent Maori rising have been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment, and others implicated fined £10. Gold export during last June amounted to 35,898 ounces.

Obituary.—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of:—Major-General G. Fullerton-Carnegie, late Bengal S.C. (Sutlej 1845-6, Panjāb, 1848-9);—Sir Chaloner Alabaster, K.C.M.G., late British Consul-General at Canton (China 1857);—Major C. M. Young, at Kumassi;—Surgeon-Major-General J. C. Morice (Mutiny, Hazara, Black Mountain, Sudan 1885);—Major-General F. G. Pym, C.B. (Crimea, India 1857-8);—Major-General R. G. Woodthorpe, C.B., R.E. (Lushai, Garo Hill, Naga and Aka expeditions, Afghanistan 1878-9, Burma 1886-7);—Captain J. C. Pitman, R.N. (Navarino, China 1841);—Sir John Scott, K.C.M.G., late Governor of Natal and British Guiana;—Major-General W. K. Leet, V.C., C.B. (Mutiny campaign, Zulu war 1879, Burma 1886-7); Major-General W. H. Lowther (Panjāb 1848-9, Assam 1857-8, and Abor expeditions);—Major-General H. L. Fulke Greville, R.A.;—The Rev. Hugh Huleatt, formerly Chaplain of the Forces (Crimea, China);—Capt. C. F. Goldie-Taubman, West African Frontier Force;—Captain W. T. W. Hambly, R.N. (Baltic, Black Sea, China 1860);—Mr. G. D. Burgess, C.S.I., Judicial Commissioner Upper Burma;—Mr. W. L. G. Drew, formerly Auditor-General of Queensland;—Sir F. D. Bell, formerly Speaker of the New Zealand House of Representatives and Agent-General in England;—Major R. B. Manning (Afghanistan 1879-80); Mir Aulad Ali, Arabic Professor, Dublin University;—Sir Asman Jah,* formerly Prime Minister of the Deccan;—Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, grandson of the wealthy Parsi merchant and philanthropist who for his loyalty to the Crown was created a baronet in 1857;—Admiral F. W. Pleydell-Bouverie (Syria, Alexandria 1840);—Admiral T. L. Massie (Navarino, St. Jean d'Acre, Burma, China and Crimea);—Capt. P. H. Dun;—Mr. Dwarka Nath Ganguli, a well-known supporter of the Indian National Congress;—Major-General W. C. F. Molyneux (Kafir and Zulu wars 1878-9, Egypt 1882, Bechuanaland 1884-5);—Lieut.-Col. W. E. Despard, R.M.L.I. (Ashanti 1873); Lieut.-Col. G. K. McCallum (Afghanistan 1879-80, Boer war 1881);—Surgeon-General W. Johnston, late Madras Army (China);—Sir Charles Cameron Lees, formerly Lieut.-Governor of the Gold Coast, etc.;—Lieut.-Col. C. M. Erskine, Bombay C.S. (Afghanistan 1879-80);—Sir A. H. Palmer, late President Queensland Legislative Council;—Surgeon-General J. F. Beatson, late Bengal Army;—Captain the Hon. Arthur F. Napier, I.S.C.;—Mr. H. St. Aubyn Denton, M.A., Aligarh College;—Col. F. M. Hunter, C.B., C.S.I., late Bombay Political Department;—Lieut.-Col. A. Tippinge (Crimea);—Lieut.-Col. W. L. Brereton (Afghan war 1878-9, and Burma);—Surgeon-General J. Murray, M.D., late Indian Service (Panjāb);—Major-General H. C. B. Barnett, late Madras Staff Corps (Burma 1887);—Capt. J. R. B. Sergeant, R.E. (Chitral 1895);—

* See under "Native States of India."

Professor G. Ebers, an Egyptologist;—Captain W. H. Robinson, late Rhodesian Horse;—Lieut.-General R. B. Hawley, c.b. (Crimea);—Mr. W. Wren, the Indian Civil Service “coach”;—Chief Judge C. J. Manning, N. S. Wales;—H.H. Sir Anand Rao Powar, Maharaja of Dhar,* K.C.S.I., C.I.E.;—Lieut.-Col. R. A. Chermiside, late A.S.C. (Zulu war);—Major-General T. L. Lynden-Bell (Crimea, Hazara, and Black Mountain campaigns);—Major-General H. M. Finlay, formerly of Madras Artillery;—Lieut.-Colonel A. H. Maclean, R.A. (Zulu war 1879);—Capt. G. N. Adams, late Indian Navy (China and Persia);—Col. Sir C. S. Gzowski, K.C.M.G., in Canada;—Mr. R. S. O'Connor (Mutiny and Bhutan war);—Col. H. S. Marshall (Afghanistan 1878-80);—Lieut.-Col. C. F. Houghton, late Canadian militia;—Lieut.-Col. E. Simeon (Panjāb 1848-9, N.W. Frontier 1852, Mutiny, etc.);—Lieut.-Col. E. F. David, R.M.L.I. (Sudan 1884-5 and 1896);—Major O. C. Jones (Ashanti 1873-4);—Lieut.-General S. Henning, c.b. (Crimea, Mutiny, Abyssinia);—Col. H. L. Wells, C.I.E., R.E., Director Persian Gulf Telegraphs (Afghanistan 1878-80);—Commander H. G. Simpson, R.N. (Syria, China 1842);—Capt. G. Caldecott, at Omdurman;—Lieut. R. S. Grenfell, at Omdurman;—Lieut.-Col. C. D. Rich (Mutiny);—the Rev. Dr. J. Corbett, retired R.C. army chaplain (West Indies, Egypt);—Major G. E. Walter, I.S.C. (Afghan war 1879-80);—Major-General Duncan, commanding Bombay Forces (Mutiny, Bechuanaland);—General Sir W. Hope (Crimea, Mutiny, Euzofzie operations);—Major-General T. E. Byrne, R.A. (Crimea);—Lieut.-Col. F. M. Hunter, B.S.C.;—Col. E. Carrington (Zhob Valley and Bikanir Field Force);—Lieut. R. J. A. Haldane, Highland Light Infantry (killed at Caudia);—Surgeon-Major-General J. Inkson, M.D. (Baltic, Mutiny, Bhutan Expedition);—The Hon. A. J. Pile, C.M.G., Speaker House of Assembly, Barbados;—Sir C. F. Farran, Chief Justice of Bombay;—Major-General W. S. Oliphant, late (Bengal) R.E. (Panjāb 1848-9);—H.H. the Raja Bahadur of Faridkot*;—Lieut.-Col. J. D. Cunningham, R.A. (Zhob Valley, Burma, Sikkim, Miranzai, Chitral and Tirah);—Major-General C. Holroyd, of the late East India Company's service;—Major-General J. F. Stafford, late Bengal S. C. (Panjab, Mutiny, etc.);—Bishop Jenner, D.D., late of Dunedin, N.Z.;—Major-General R. A. Wauchope, late Bengal Staff Corps (Delhi, Sikkim, Umbeyla campaign, Bhutan, Afghanistan 1878-80, etc.

* See under “Native States of India.”

26 September, 1898.



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